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# STUDIES IN OLD ENGLISH

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BY

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following essays make no claim to supply the long-felt want of a grammar of Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*. They are concerned with the investigation of certain problems in Old English phonology, with a view to ascertaining the distinctive characteristics of the Old English dialects and the chronological sequence of the sound-changes which marked the early history of the language.

It ought to be explained that these essays were completed in April of last year, several months before I was able to see the third edition of Sievers' *Angelsächsische Grammatik*. Consequently the references are to the second edition (Cook's Translation) throughout. I have called attention, however, in the footnotes to many of the changes introduced in the third edition, and I hope that I have not passed over anything of importance bearing on the problems here discussed. It will be found that several of the theories, against which I have contended in the earlier chapters of this paper, have been in part modified or withdrawn in the third edition; in one or two cases, indeed, the new explanation is practically identical with that which I have proposed. After some hesitation I decided to let my work remain in its original form, because Sievers' book, while stating conclusions, does not profess to give a detailed account of the processes by which these conclusions have been attained.

A word of apology is needed in regard to the nomenclature employed in the designation of the hypothetical texts discussed on p. 96 ff. This might certainly have been improved, but unfortunately it was brought to my notice too late to admit of any alteration being made.

I cannot let this opportunity pass by without testifying to the value of the services rendered to the cause of English Philology by the publication of *The Oldest English Texts*. Without that work any such investigation as the present would of course have been impossible; the labours of the investigator also have been materially lightened by the accuracy and the very convenient arrangement of the glossary.

In conclusion my thanks are due to the Cambridge Philological Society for allowing this paper to be published in their *Transactions*, and especially to the President, Prof. Ridgeway, for the kindly interest he has throughout taken in the work. Above all I have to thank Prof. Skeat, who has gone through both the manuscript and the proofs, and to whom I am indebted for many valuable suggestions.

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CLARE COLLEGE,  
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NOTE. The references in Bede are to Plummer's *Baedae Opera Historica*. It is to be observed that B = Cotton Tiberius A XIV, C = Cotton Tiberius C II. "The Alphabet" refers to the names of the Runic letters given in Cod. Sal. 140 (quoted from Wimmer, *die Runenschrift*<sup>2</sup>, p. 85). The Northumbrian Runic inscriptions are quoted from Vietor, *die northumbrischen Runensteine*. In every other case the reference is to Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*.

West Saxon forms are usually quoted from Cosijn's *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*. It should be observed that C = the Cottonian MS., H = the Hatton MS. of the *Cura Pastoralis* (C.P.).

The grammars contained in Braune's *Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte* are quoted under the names of their respective authors. The same plan has been occasionally adopted in the case of grammatical treatises which deal with special dialects or texts: thus Zeuner = Zeuner's *Sprache des kentischen Psalters*, Lindelöf = Lindelöf's *Sprache des Rituals von Durham*.

Amongst other abbreviations the following may be noted :

- O.E. = Old English.
- O.H.G. = Old High German.
- M.L.G. = Middle Low German.

O.Sax. = Old Saxon. \*

O.E. Fris. = Old East Frisian.

O.N. = Old Norse.

Urn. = Urnordisch (the language of the earliest Scandinavian inscriptions).

E.S. = Englische Studien.

P.B.B. = Paul-Braunes Beiträge.

P.G. = Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie.

O.E.T. = Sweet's Oldest English Texts.

H.E.S. = Sweet's History of English Sounds.

## CORRIGENDA.

p. 47 f. It is more probable that the absence of umlaut in Ps. *oteawan* is only apparent. *-ēawan* may represent an earlier *\*ǣ<sup>3</sup>wan* (cf. Cp. *meau* < *\*mǣ<sup>2</sup>w-*), and may therefore be identical with W.Sax. *-īewan*. If so, this word furnishes important evidence for the former existence of the sound *ǣ<sup>3</sup>* in the dialect of the Psalter.

p. 140 ff. In the preparation of these sections I unfortunately overlooked Sievers' article on the same subject in P.B.B. xi. (p. 542 ff.). I therefore take this opportunity of calling the reader's attention to it. It will be seen that Ep. 179 and 504 are to be added to the examples of *b*=Germ. *b̄*, and *f*=Germ. *f* respectively.

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The page references in this paper are to the bracketed figures in the headlines.

## 1. INTRODUCTION.

THE oldest English texts exhibit various dialectical peculiarities. In the case of certain (especially Northumbrian and Kentish) texts the external evidence is conclusive as to the locality in which they were composed. The varieties of the English language which they present may therefore be known as the Northumbrian dialect, the Kentish dialect etc. In the case of several important texts however, such as the *Vespasian Psalter* and the *Epinal*, *Erfurt* and *Corpus Glossaries*, conclusive external evidence is wanting. The dialect of such texts can only be determined by comparing their linguistic characteristics with those of texts whose place of origin is known. When this criterion also is wanting it is preferable to use such terms as "the dialect of the *Psalter*," "the dialect of the *Epinal Glossary*" etc.

In tracing the historical development of English sounds I have made more use of the *Psalter* and the early Northumbrian texts than of the *Glossaries*, because the evidence of the latter is of a very complicated character, modernised or semi-modernised forms often appearing side by side with others of a much more archaic character. This inconsistency is doubtless due to the influence of older texts, the forms of which have sometimes been faithfully copied by the scribe but more frequently have been brought either partly or wholly into conformity with the orthographical usage of his day.

In the representation of English sounds I have found it necessary to introduce several innovations. In particular

it is absolutely necessary for a clear understanding of Old English phonology to distinguish between the various etymological values of the *æ*-sounds. For this purpose I have used the signs  $\omega^1$ ,  $\omega^2$ ,  $\omega^3$ ,  $\omega^4$ ,  $\omega^5$ ,  $\bar{\omega}^1$ ,  $\bar{\omega}^2$ ,  $\bar{\omega}^3$ ,  $\bar{\omega}^4$ . Their values are as follows:—

$\omega^1$  denotes the sound in W. Sax., North. *dæg* etc. (for its origin cf. p. 61 ff.).

$\omega^2$  denotes the sound arising from *a* by *i*-umlaut, e.g. Ps. *aeldu*.

$\omega^3$  denotes the sound arising from *æa* by *i*-umlaut, e.g. Ps. *hlæhað*.

$\omega^4$  denotes the sound arising from *æa* by "palatal umlaut," e.g. Ps. *-sæh*.

$\omega^5$  denotes the sound arising from *ø* by *i*-umlaut, e.g. Ep. *ænid*.

$\bar{\omega}^1$  denotes the sound corresponding to Goth. *-e-*, O.H.G. *-ā-* under normal conditions, e.g. W. Sax. *dād*.†

$\bar{\omega}^2$  denotes the sound arising from  $\bar{a}$  (< Germ. *ai*) by *i*-umlaut, e.g. *dā*.

$\bar{\omega}^3$  denotes the sound arising from  $\bar{æa}$  by *i*-umlaut, e.g. North. *naed*.

$\bar{\omega}^4$  denotes the sound arising from  $\bar{æa}$  by "palatal umlaut," e.g. Ep. *baecon*.

It is to be observed that the distinction is purely etymological, not phonetic. The phonetic value of *-æ-* (*-æ-*, *-e-*) in its various uses in literary times is a subject which requires further investigation. The classification given above however is based on differences which existed in pre-literary times. The necessity of such a classification is shown by the following considerations: the letters *-æ-* (*-æ-*, *-e-*) are used—apart from exceptional cases—in West Saxon texts to denote only  $\omega^1$ ,  $\bar{\omega}^1$ ,  $\bar{\omega}^2$ ; in the Psalter  $\omega^2$ ,  $\omega^3$ ,  $\omega^4$ ,  $\bar{\omega}^2$ ; in Northumbrian texts  $\omega^1$ ,  $\omega^2$ ,  $\omega^3$ ,  $\omega^4$ ,  $\bar{\omega}^2$ ; *-æ-* (*-æ-*, *-e-*) for  $\omega^5$ ,  $\bar{\omega}^4$  is frequent only in the glossaries, while for  $\bar{\omega}^3$  it occurs only in the earliest Northumbrian texts.

In conformity with the use of  $\omega^1$ ,  $\omega^2$  etc. to denote the

† The hypothetical Germanic sound from which these come is written *-ē-*.



various etymological values of  $\text{æ}$ , I have employed  $\text{e}^2$  to denote the sound arising from  $\text{æ}^1$  by *i*-umlaut†.  $\text{e}^1$  is used, where necessary, to denote the original *e*-sound, corresponding in general to O.H.G. O.N. *e*, Goth. *i* (*ai*).

## 2. THE HISTORY OF THE OLDER DIPHTHONGS.

For information regarding the history of the older diphthongs we are dependent on the observation of the results of three sound-changes:—

- i. The operation of *i*-umlaut.
- ii. The operation of the change known as ‘palatal umlaut‡.’
- iii. Contraction through the loss of intervocalic *-h-*.

### i. *The i-umlaut of diphthongs.*

In West Saxon the *i*-umlaut of  $\bar{\text{e}}\text{a}$  (< Germ. *au*) is written *ie* (*i*, *y*); the *i*-umlaut of *ea* (< Germ. *a* before  $\chi$ , *r*, *l* + consonant) is also written *ie* (*i*, *y*). It would seem natural therefore that there was no qualitative difference of importance between these sounds even at the time when *i*-umlaut took place. It appears from such forms as *mehte*, *ðeh* which are especially frequent in Orosius, that at the time when palatal umlaut took place in West Saxon (i.e. probably towards the end of cent. IX.) the first element in the *ea*-diphthongs was  $\bar{\text{e}}$ , but it does not of course follow that this was the case at the time when *i*-umlaut operated.

In Northumbrian and in the Psalter there is not the same harmony in the representation of the umlauted diphthongs. We find:

† The sign  $\text{e}$  which is used by many writers with this value is open to the objection that it occurs in the mss. with a totally different value, namely as an equivalent of *-æ-*, *-æ-*.

‡ The term is obviously inappropriate, but since it is in general use I have retained it. ‘Guttural smoothing’ is equally unsuitable, since the change certainly took place before palatals as well as gutturals, e.g. before Germ. *-j-* in Ps. *frigu* etc.

*e* : *ēa*, e.g. Ps. *gelefan* : *geleafa*.

*aeh* (*æh*, *ēh*) : *aeh* (*æh*, *ēh*) e.g. Ps. *maeht* : *maehte* (pret.)

*er* : *ear*, e.g. Ps. *ermðu* : *earm*.

Corresponding to Ps. *al* we find *ael* (*æl*, *ēl*), but since there is no evidence for breaking of Germ. *a* before *l* in these dialects, these forms need not be discussed here (cf. p. 29 f.).

Judging from the evidence of the Psalter alone we might conclude that the regular umlaut of *ǣa* was *ǣ̆*, and that this *ǣ̆* was perhaps a later development of a diphthong corresponding to the W. Sax. *ǣe*. But in that case the absence of umlaut in *maeht* etc. would remain unexplained. The evidence of early Northumbrian shows however that in this dialect at least such was not the case. Thus against L.V. *edwini*, *edgils*† Bede M. has usually *aedwini* (B.C.N. have *edwini*), *aedgils* (IV. 25); against L.V. *beda* M. has *baeda* (cf. *Bieda* Chron. A. 734; Langob. *Bauto*, *Baodolinus*); against Ps. *ned* the Alphabet has *naed*; and L.V. possibly contains two examples, *baede* (l. 432) and *helm-baed* (l. 10). Another possible case is M. v. 19, *æi* beside IV. 6 *ei*, Loc. sg. of *eu* probably from Germ. *\*aujī* (cf. W. Sax. *iege*), but the history of this word in Northumbrian is somewhat obscure, cf. p. 41. Lastly the North. *caelin* = W. Sax. *ceaulin* of M. II. 5 (L.V. *celin*) may be compared, though the diphthong contained in this word is in all probability not Germ. *au* but one of later origin, cf. pp. 42, 45.

It appears therefore that North. *e* here represents an earlier *ē* (*ē̄*<sup>3</sup>). Its history is precisely parallel to that of *ē̄*<sup>1</sup>: thus in M. we find *ae* = *ē̄*<sup>1</sup> in *blaedla* I. 13, *raedfridum* IV. 1, *suebhardo* v. 7, *gae* v. 2. On the other hand parallel to *ē̄* < *ē̄*<sup>3</sup> in *edric* IV. 26, *edwini* IV. 23, v. 24 (2), (*el-*)*ge* IV. 19, and possibly *estranglorum* IV. 12 (see below), we find *e* < *ē̄*<sup>1</sup> in *reduald* II. 5, 12, 15, *suefredo* IV. 11, *elge* IV. 19, *uetadun* v. 3, probably *deda* II. 16 and regularly in the second member e.g. *eanfled*, *aelfled*, *uictred*, *coenred*, *eumer*. In the Alphabet

† L.V. has *ed-* *eed-* seven times; 6 before a second member containing *ī*-vocalism, viz. *edwini* 4, *eedgils* 1, *eedric* 1. The exception is *edgyth*. *eadwini* occurs 13 times; *eadgils*, *eadric* do not occur.

parallel to *naed* we find *gaer*. In L.V.  $ae = \bar{a}^3$  is represented only by the uncertain *baede*, *helmbaed* (see above) and the very doubtful *aestorhild* (l. 20), *aesturuini* (l. 78) against *aeostoruini* (l. 153) and *eosturuini* (l. 191). The examples of  $ae = \bar{a}^1$  are likewise rare: in the second member only in *osmaer* (l. 200), *eadmaer* (l. 157), *hegaer* (l. 167) and *uitmer* (l. 219); in the first syllable apparently the only cases are *blaedswith* (l. 21) and *blaedla* (ll. 186, 203). Since *bled-* does not occur in L.V. and the termination *-la* only occurs in *blaedla* and *etla* (l. 229), it seems not unlikely that these names were unfamiliar to the scribe and that consequently he has simply copied the spelling of older documents. In the second member the possibility of shortening must be taken into account. On the other hand parallel to 7 *ed-*, 3 *bed-*, 5 *beda*, 1 *celin*, 1 *scenuulf* (l. 94) and 3 *dremca* (*dremka* l. 95), cf. *dreamuulf* l. 114, we find 6 *meg-* (including 2 *mei-*), 2 *ded-*, 9 *ger-*, 8 *uer-* and frequent *red-*, besides several examples of less certain forms. In the second member we find 6 *-mer*, 4 *-fled*, and very frequent *-red*.

The history of *eduini*, *beda* etc. throws light on the apparent absence of umlaut in Ps. *maeht* (North. *maecti* in Caedmon's Hymn). It is clear that these words must have contained a diphthong at the time when *i*-umlaut took place; otherwise the result must have been *\*me<sup>2</sup>ht*, for *-ht-* did not prevent umlaut (cf. *dryctin* in the same Hymn). The effects of *i*-umlaut are identical in the two cases; the relationship  $\bar{a}^3 : \bar{e}a <$  earlier  $\bar{a}^3 : \bar{a}^1$  (cf. p. 26 ff.) is identical with the relationship  $\bar{a}^3 : \bar{a}^1$ , but the latter forms (e.g. Ps. pret. *maehte*) have undergone palatal umlaut and consequently fallen together eventually with the forms which have undergone *i*-umlaut.  $\bar{a}$  remains because there is no change of  $\bar{a} > e$  in Northumbrian (except under certain conditions for which see p. 84 f.); in the dialect of the Psalter there was certainly a change of  $\bar{a}^1 > e$ , but this change was very early (apparently before the operation of palatal umlaut) and may consequently have taken place before  $\bar{a}^1$  and  $\bar{a}^3$  fell together.

With regard to the *i*-umlaut of Germ. *a* before *r* + con-



sonant there is reason for supposing that in West Saxon at any rate the breaking is older than the umlaut; and in Northumbrian in spite of such forms as *ward*, *barnum* etc. which occur in the oldest texts, the palatalisation of the initial consonant in Ruthwell *žeredæ* shows at least that it was followed by a palatal vowel before the completion of *i*-umlaut. Evidence in favour of early breaking is likewise given by M. *iaruman* III. 24, 30, IV. 3 = Geneal. (OET. p. 167 ff.) *gearomon*, l. 34. How then is the *e* of Ps. *ermðu*, North. (L.V.) *uernberct* (: Langob. *uarnepertus*) to be explained? If before the operation of *i*-umlaut these words contained a diphthong parallel to that in *maeht*, one would naturally expect this operation to produce forms such as \**aermðu*, \**uaern-*. But in place of *-ae-* we find *-e-*. This however is not without a parallel; for corresponding to W. Sax. *ærn*, *gærs* (with  $\text{æ}^1$ )† we find *ern*, *gers* not only in the Psalter where the evidence would be inconclusive in consequence of the change  $\text{æ}^1 > e$ , but also in the Lindisfarne Gospels‡. The *e* is long as is shown by the frequent writing *érn*. These forms can only be explained, so far as I can see, on the hypothesis that the lengthening took place before the change of  $\bar{\text{æ}}^1 > \bar{e}$ , the development being \* $\text{æ}^1\text{rn}$  (< \**rænn* < \**ræzn* cf. Kluge, P.G.<sup>2</sup> p. 372) >  $\bar{\text{æ}}^1\text{rn}$  >  $\bar{e}\text{rn}$ . A similar lengthening in \* $\text{æ}^3\text{rm}\mu$  would produce *ermðu* ( $\bar{e}\text{rm}\mu$ ), for as has already been shown  $\bar{\text{æ}}^3$  also underwent the change to  $\bar{e}$ . We have indeed no examples of *-ær-* in the early North. texts, but this is not strange considering the rareness of forms with *-er-*. M. offers only one case, *merci*, though this is frequent, while even in L.V. we find only 8 examples of *uern-* and one of *herding* (l. 333). The glossaries however which closely resemble Northumbrian in their treatment of the *i*-umlaut of diphthongs, afford several examples of  $\text{æ}(r) = \text{æ}^3(r)$ , cf. p. 122 f. The form *uucærenberht*, Gen. l. 40, probably does not belong here but is rather with L.V.

† The metathesis of *-r-* seems to have been repeated at various periods. Thus we find Lind. *gærs* (twice beside frequent *gers*) and D. pl. *græsum*; cf. Cp. *græs* (864).

‡ Cf. also Lind. *berna*, Ps. *bernan*, W.Sax. *bærnan* with *i*-umlaut of  $\varrho$ .

*uerenhaeth* (l. 334), *uerenfrith* (l. 365) to be compared with Langob. *Warimbertus* and contains probably the stem of Tacitus' *Varini*.

The operation of *i*-umlaut therefore in the three classes of diphthongs has been precisely similar. The *i*-umlaut of Germ. *au* was originally  $\bar{a}^3$ , the *i*-umlaut of Germ. *a* before  $\chi$  and before *r* + consonant was  $\bar{e}^3$ ; subsequently lengthening took place before *r* + consonant and  $\bar{e}^3$  together with  $\bar{a}^1$  underwent a change to  $\bar{e}$ .

## ii. Palatal umlaut.

In the Psalter palatal umlaut appears without exception under the following conditions:—

(i) in all long diphthongs before immediately following *c, g, h*.

(ii) in all short diphthongs before immediately following *h*.

(iii) in all short diphthongs before *rc, rg* and before *r'h* when *h* is preserved.

There is some irregularity in its occurrence in the case of a short diphthong immediately followed by *g, c*:

( $\alpha$ ) before *-g-* the number of exceptions is small (Zeuner p. 34), viz. *steogun* (3), *weogum* (1), *weagas* (3). Possibly these forms are due to a later operation of *u-* and *a-*umlaut which took in part a different form. Palatal umlaut of the diphthong arising from Germ. *a* is universal, though *degas* etc. occur 6 times (perhaps on the analogy of the singular) and *a* is preserved in *dagum, magun, plagiad* (once each). In *asagas* the preservation of *a* is regular, cf. *hafas, hafað*.

( $\beta$ ) before *-c-* palatal umlaut of *-eo-* is rare (Zeuner p. 35), *spreocan* etc. being the usual forms. On the other hand *-ea-* only occurs once (*hreacan*, 113. 7), palatal umlaut usually taking place; *-e-* is found in *wreca* (3), *-a-* in *hracan* (1), *ðraca* (4).

It would seem from *ðweoran* (2), *ðweoru* (2) beside *ðuerh*

that palatal umlaut did not take place in this dialect before antevocalic *-rh-*. The retention of *-u* in N. sg. f. *ðweoru* makes it probable that *-h-* disappeared here very early and without lengthening the preceding vowel. On the other hand palatal umlaut must have taken place before the loss of *-h-* in the group *-lh-*, as is shown by Conj. *fele*, Ind. 3 sg. *fleð*. Here also there can have been no vowel-lengthening; these forms must be read as *fĕle*, *fĕleð* as appears from the new preterite pl. *felun* (= *fĕlun*). The difficult *-ea-* of the inf. *-fealan* (72. 28) is best explained as an example of late *a*-umlaut, parallel perhaps to that suggested in the case of *weagas* above.

Lastly the word *westem* deserves mention. The Lindisfarne forms *wæstm*, *wæstem*, *wæstim* etc. (frequent and consistently written with *-æ-*) show that it contains *ǣ*<sup>1</sup>. *-χ-* must therefore have been lost here before the operation of breaking.

The results of palatal umlaut in the dialect of the Psalter may be stated briefly thus: that in place of *ea*, *ĕa* stand *æ* (*ae*, *ę*), *ē*; in place of *eo* (*io*), *ēo* (*io*) stand *e* and *i*, *ē* and *ī* respectively. But in place of *ē* : *ĕa* we have in one case *æ*, viz. *ðæh ðe* (2), *ðæh ðe* (1), *daeh ðe* (1).

In early Northumbrian palatal umlaut is complete in the following texts: viz. all the inscriptions except Kirkheaton, the Alphabet, Caedmon's Hymn, Bede's Death-song, the Leiden Riddle and Liber Vitae. In the Northumbrian MSS. (M. and B.) of Bede's History it is complete except before *-rc-* in the following cases:—*earconberct* III. 8 (thrice, C. has *ercon-* once and *eorcon-* once, B. has *ercon-* once), IV. 19 (*ercon-* C.), v. 24, but *earconberct* IV. 1, v. 19 in agreement with the other MSS.; *earcongot-æ*, *-am* III. 8 (so also B., but C. has *eorcon-* in both cases), against *ercongota* (in agreement with the other MSS.) in the same chapter; *earconuald* IV. Pr. (*ercon-* C.), IV. 6 (twice, C. has once *ercon-* and once *eorcun-*), against *ercunuald-* III. 19 (twice), *erconualdo* IV. 11, each time in agreement with the other MSS. The variation therefore seems to be due to Bede himself. It is noticeable that the failure of palatal umlaut is confined to the names of

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three persons none of whom were Northumbrians, viz. *Earconberct* king of Kent, *Earcongotæ* his daughter, and *Earconuald* bishop of the East Saxons. Names with *earcon-* may not have been familiar to a Northumbrian; the only other example of the word is *ercinuald* L.V. l. 304. *-ea-*, *-eo-* never occur before *-rg-*, *-rh-*, *-berct* *-bergæ* etc. being the forms exclusively in use. In contrast apparently to the dialect of the Psalter, palatal umlaut seems from *fīrum* in Caedmon's Hymn to have taken place in Northumbrian also before antevocalic *-rh-*. In regard to the treatment of *-lh-* Northumbrian agrees with the Psalter, as appears from the word *selæs* (twice in M. etc., viz. IV. 13, v. 18)†.

The effects of palatal umlaut in Northumbrian are in general the same as in the Psalter. It is to be observed however that in the case of the short diphthongs its sphere of operation was more limited, since labial umlaut of Germ. *a* did not take place in Northumbrian before the period of palatal umlaut. Hence forms like Alph. *lagu*, M. *hagustaldensis* (III. 2), *hacanos* (IV. 23).

Among the phenomena of palatal umlaut in Northumbrian and in the dialect of the Psalter there are two points which deserve special attention:

1. ‡The palatal umlaut of the Germ. diphthong *iu* and of the new diphthong arising by breaking from Germ. *i*. Sievers (P.B.B. XVIII. 411 ff.) has shown that in the earliest texts the Germ. diphthongs *eu* and *iu* as also the new diphthongs arising from Germ. *e* and *i* are to a great extent kept distinct. In the early Northumbrian MSS. of Bede and in *Liber Vitæ* there are indeed no exceptions. Now seeing that palatal umlaut is, with the exception of the few examples of *earcon-* mentioned above, already complete in these texts, we should naturally expect that its effect on the *i*-diphthongs would differ from its effect on the *e*-diphthongs. As a matter of fact the early Northumbrian texts offer very

† Hence Sievers' explanation (P.B.B. XVIII. 412) of *seoluini* (L.V. l. 305) must be wrong; it is preferable to regard *seol-* as simply a mistake for *ceol-*.

‡ The following explanation has now been put forward by Sievers (Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 164 f.).

little evidence either for or against this hypothesis, but the evidence of late Northumbrian, though not extensive, agrees with it, and the same is true of the Psalter. Thus Ps. *wircað* etc.: *werc*, *birhtu* etc.: *berht*, 3 sg. Ind. *fileð* beside Conj. *fele* (cf. B.D.S. 3 sg. Ind. *wuiurthit* beside Conj. *wueorth(a)e*), Alph. *ilcs*, cf. Run. *eolhxsecg* and Ep. 781 *ilugsegg*, M. *uictuari*, *uictgils* I. 15, *uictred*, *uictberct* etc. M. L.V.†, Ps. *inlihtan* etc.: *leht*, Ps. *smicað*: *smec*‡; especially noticeable are Ps. 3 sg. Ind. *atið* (9. 30) beside Impv. *geteh* (31. 9), and Lind. 3 sg. Ind. *flivð* (Jn. x. 12, 13) beside Ps. Conj. pl. *flen* (67. 2), which show that palatal umlaut worked before the loss of intervocalic *-h-*. In some cases the *i-* and *e-* stems seem to have been confused; thus Ps. pteple *ligende* (17. 46) beside *legende*; so also we have 1 sg. *flign* (54. 7) beside *legu* (88. 36), both of which can not be right; Cp. *scriopu* (1828) tells in favour of the *i-* form though the contrary is the more usual opinion. *i* is also found as the result of palatal umlaut from the diphthong *īu* arising through contraction of *i* and Germ. *-a-*, *-ō-* (cf. p. 56 f.), e.g. Ps. 1 sg. *frigu* beside 2 sg. *freas* etc., cf. Leid. 153, *friulactum*, Cp. *frioleta* (3 times). M. *frigyð* (IV. 23), cf. L.V. *friumon*, *friubet*: these words are possibly connected with Ps. *frigu* etc. L.V. *frehelm* (62, 286) is rather to be connected with *frea*. Another possible example of *ī* < *īu* through palatal umlaut is Lind. *gigoð*, but unfortunately the conditions which produce palatal diphthongisation in Northumbrian, as well as the period at which such change took place, are obscure. Clearly Ps. *guguð* (*iuguð*, *guiuð*) has undergone no such diphthongisation and consequently has remained free from palatal umlaut.

2. The palatal umlaut of the Germ. diphthong *au*. The result in Northumbrian as in the Psalter is usually *e*, though there are not many examples in the early texts. L.V. has *beguini* (thrice), *edilhech* (l. 68), *eðilhech* (l. 105),

† Cf. Siev. § 84, where however *Peohtas* is wrongly given as an example of broken *-i*. As Bede v. 13 *pect-helmo* and L.V. *pect-helm*, *pect-uald*, etc. (frequent) show, the change of *i* > *e* in this word, like the converse change in < *Wixti*-\**Vectis*, took place before the operation of breaking.

‡ This example is regular only if *smicað* belongs to a weak verb.

perhaps *herred* (thrice) if this comes from \**hēh-red*, and possibly *willech* (l. 473) which is obscure; so also probably *frehelm* (ll. 62, 286) : *frea* cf. p. 10†; the Leiden Riddle has *ðeh* (twice), *hehcraeft*; *becun* occurs in the inscriptions of Falstone, Thornhill III., Dewsbury and Gretabridge, and Bewcastle has probably *becn* though the vowel is not quite certain, cf. Vietor, p. 15; so also Clerm. *unnez* : W. Sax. *nēah* cf. p. 17 f. A possible example in M. is *deg̃sa* (l. 34, v. 24) especially in view of the form *daeg̃sa* in C. (v. 24). But forms with *-ae-* also occur: thus M. has *pægnalæch* (III. 27) against *-lech* in the other MSS., and the (Runic) inscription of Crowle seems to have *bæcun*. In L.V. *baeglug* (l. 290), *baeglog* (ll. 172, 208) are examples if the first member is identical with *beg-* in *beguini*; possibly however it is related to O.H.G. *beiara* (cf. Chron. 891 *bægerum*); another possible example is *regnhaeg* (l. 372), but this word might also be related to O.N. *sókn-heggr* (Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 160), cf. the form *hega* (: O.H.G. *haijo*) in a charter (O.E.T. 28) with Kentish characteristics. Scanty as the evidence is, it seems to show that  $\bar{e}$  comes from an earlier  $\bar{æ}$  ( $\bar{æ}^4$ ), and so far as one can judge, the change seems to be contemporaneous with that of  $\bar{æ}^1$  and  $\bar{æ}^3$  to  $\bar{e}$ . The *-ae-* of Ps. *ðæh ðe* etc. (so also Lind. *ðæh* compared with Leid. Rid. *ðeh*) must be due to shortening either before or after the operation of palatal umlaut. This change of  $\bar{æ}^4 > \bar{e}$  constitutes an important point of difference between Northumbrian and the dialect of the Psalter on the one hand and the dialect of the glossaries on the other (cf. p. 131 ff.).

As the sound ( $\bar{æ}^4$ ) which arose from Germ. *au* by palatal umlaut seems to have fallen together with the sound ( $\bar{æ}^3$ ) which arose from the same diphthong by *i*-umlaut, so also the result of palatal umlaut on the diphthong which arose from Germ. *a* before *r* + consonant seems to have been identical with the result of *i*-umlaut on the same diphthong. Thus Ps. has *erc*, *gesnerc*, *hergas*, *merglice* parallel to *erfe*, etc. Examples in early Northumbrian are very rare. M. has four examples of *ercun-* (*ercon-*) beside

† *hegaer* (l. 167) has probably  $\bar{e} < \bar{e}o$ , cf. *heouald* (p. 40).



seven of *earcon-* (cf. p. 8) and L.V. has once *ercin-uald*†. On the other hand Bede's Death-song has *aerigfaerae*, where however the lengthening may have been prevented by svarabhakti, or possibly \**aerh* may have been restored on the analogy of the A.G.D. sg. \**aeræ*, if the loss of *-h-* preceded the lengthening. In later Northumbrian we have Lind. *berg, merc*, etc., but *aerc*. On the whole it seems probable that the Northumbrian treatment was the same as that in the dialect of the Psalter. It is noticeable that here again, as in the case of the palatal umlaut of Germ. *au*, the glossaries usually have *-ae-* (cf. p. 130 ff.).

The hypothesis suggested above that *-ē-* arising through palatal umlaut from Germ. *au* (as also from Germ. *a* before *r* + consonant) represents an earlier *ā* is supported by evidence of a different kind. In the early Northumbrian texts the diphthong arising from Germ. *au* is as elsewhere usually represented by *ea*. Yet there are not wanting examples with *-aea-*, *-aéo-*: thus M. has *aeodbaldum* II. Pref., *aeodbaldo* II. 7, II. 9, *eanfled* II. 9, *aeanfled* III 24 (twice); to these should possibly be added *ænheri* (IV. 13), if this is a mistake for *aeanheri* which is preserved in the Namur MS.; L.V. has one example, *aeostoruini* l. 153. It is to be noticed that the names in Bede belonged to persons living in the seventh century. Now if, as seems probable in view of the more frequent *-ea-*, the spelling *-aéo-* *-aea-* is an archaism in the Bede MSS. and due to copying from older documents, it must show that the names of these persons were so written by their contemporaries and therefore that the first element in the diphthong *-ea-* was at no very distant period a real *a-* sound. In the other cases of palatal umlaut its character seems to have been the monophthongising of a diphthong in such a way that the first element alone survived; thus *e* < *eo* (Ps. *berht*), *ē* < *ēo* (Ps. *leht*), *i* < *io*, *iu* (Ps. *birhtu*), *ī* < *īo*, *īu* (Ps. *-lihtan*); the natural result therefore of palatal umlaut upon the diphthong *āa* (*āo*) would be *ā*, for the existence of which evidence has been given above.

† But these forms may have Germ. *e* (: Goth. *unairkns* etc.).

iii. *The loss of intervocalic -h-.*

This is not of course the only source of contraction, but it is necessary to keep the various cases of contraction quite distinct as they belong to entirely different periods. Thus in *frēo*, if this comes from an earlier *\*frija-*, the contraction must have taken place before the loss of final *-a*. On the other hand Germ. *-χ-* remained until after the loss of final *-u*, as is shown by *wlōh*, *earh*, *furh*, *sulh*, etc. The loss of intervocalic *-h-* (*χ*) took place indeed comparatively late, as is shown by its frequent retention in the glossaries. It was preceded by palatal umlaut in Northumbrian, and in the dialect of the Psalter, as has already been shown (p. 10), and must therefore be considerably later than the operation of *i*-umlaut. Hence it is inadmissible to say that W. Sax. *nēar* comes directly from *\*nāhor* (with its first syllable still in pre-English form). The change  $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$  preceded *i*-umlaut, as is shown by W. Sax. *cyse* (for *cīese*), and the subsequent change  $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$  had already taken place in the dialect of the Psalter when intervocalic *-h-* was lost, as is shown by Ps. *-neolaecan* (*neo-* 8, *nio-* 5, *nia-* 1), *neoweste*, etc. < *\*nēhu-*. One may compare the forms *nior* in the glosses belonging to Bede C. (O.E.T., p. 180 ff.) and *neor* in a Kentish charter of 831 (O.E.T. No. 38). Another example is North. D. sg. *eomæ*, *eomae* (Falstone): W. Sax. *ēam*, presupposing an earlier *\*ēhom-*; for the change  $\bar{a} > o$  in the second syllable such forms as *bēot*, *eofot* (Cp. *eobotum*) may be compared (cf. Sievers § 43, note 4).

Since uncontracted forms rarely and indeed outside the glossaries scarcely ever occur, these have usually to be inferred from a comparison with the forms of other Germanic languages. Yet about certain contractions there can hardly be any doubt; thus  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{a}$  simply absorb a following vowel: e.g.  $\bar{o} + a$ , *hōn* < *\*hōhan*;  $\bar{o} + \bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{jo}$  (cf. Ep. *thohæ*);  $\bar{a} + a$ , *rā* (cf. Cp. *raha*);  $\bar{a} + \bar{e}$ , *tā* (cf. Cp. *tahæ*). There can also be no serious doubt that the same was the case with  $\bar{e}o$  in West Saxon, e.g.  $\bar{e}o + a$ , *flēon* < *\*flēohan*;  $\bar{e}o + \bar{e}$ , *flēo* (Opt.)

< \**fleohæ*. But in the dialect of the Psalter palatal umlaut had already taken place, hence  $\bar{e} + \bar{a}$ , *flen* < \**flehæn*. So also no doubt with  $\bar{e}a$ , e.g.  $\bar{e}a + a$ , *hēa* (N. sg. masc.) < \**hēaha*,  $\bar{e}a + \bar{a}$ , *hēa* (N. sg. fem.) < \**hēahæ*. So also W. Sax. *ēam* beside North. D. sg. *eomæ* probably < \**ēahom-*, \**ēhom-* (cf. p. 13). In the Psalter the A.G.D. sg. *hean* may come from \**hēhan*, but some of the forms, e.g. D. sg. masc. *heam* (135, 12), seem to have been affected by analogy.

The contraction of Germ. *e*, *a*,  $\bar{i}$  with a following vowel gives more remarkable results. Contraction of Germ. *-e-* with *-a-* gives  $\bar{e}o$  in the W. Sax. Inf. *sēon*, contraction of *e* with *æ* gives  $\bar{e}o$  in the W. Sax. Opt. *sēo*; the corresponding forms of the Psalter are Inf. *sean*, *sian*,† Opt. *se*. The diphthong in the West Saxon forms is difficult. In the Infinitive according to Sievers (§ 113, cf. § 45, 4) we are to suppose *-on* (with Idg. *-o-*) not *-an* to have been the form in existence before contraction took place‡; hence  $\bar{e}o$ - (*sēon* < \**sehon*) is the natural result of the contraction of *e + o*. This preservation of Idg. *-o-* seems to me exceedingly doubtful, not only on account of the *-ea-* of the Psalter but also from the fact that Gothic, the Urnordisch inscriptions and the early Finnish loan-words uniformly show *-a-* for Idg. *-o-* in unaccented as well as in accented syllables. Apart from this the only reputed case of the preservation of Idg. *-o-* is *frēo*, but this in reality represents an earlier \**friu* which may come just as well from \**frija-* as from \**frijo-* (cf. p. 56 ff.). That the Infinitive contained at one time a labial vowel is indeed shown by the labial umlaut§ in certain Psalter forms, e.g. *fearan*, but it is far more likely that a change of *a > o* had taken place here, as in stem syllables, in consequence of the following nasal. The difference between W. Sax. *sēon* and Ps. *sean* (*sian*) might then be explained as follows: in West Saxon the vowel of the second syllable was still labial

† The frequent *-ia-* shows that this new diphthong differed from the diphthong *-ea-* which represents Germ. *au* etc., the first element here being identical no doubt with the first element of the diphthong *eo*, *io*.

‡ This view has now been practically abandoned by Sievers (Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 45. 4).  
§ i.e. umlaut caused by a following labial vowel.



(*o*) when contraction took place, but in the dialect of the Psalter (as also in the other dialects) the labialisation was already lost. But there are two difficulties in the way of this explanation: (i.) it renders Sievers' explanation of *hēan* (§ 408, 4) impossible, since in that case *\*hēhon* must be substituted for *\*hēhan*, but *\*hē(h)on* would produce *\*hēon*; the same difficulty will of course remain if *\*hēhon* contains Idg. *-o-*; yet Sievers' explanation of *hēan* can scarcely be wrong: (ii.) *-ēo-* appears also where there is no nasal, e.g. pret. W. Sax. *tēode* beside North. *tiadæ* (Caedmon's Hymn), N. sg. *twēo* beside North. (Lind.) *twia*, Inf. *twēogean* beside Lind. pret. *twiade*†. In face of these difficulties Sievers' explanation of W. Sax. *sēon* can not be regarded as satisfactory. In the Conjunctive (*sēo* beside Ps. *se*) also the diphthong *-ēo-* requires explanation; it does not stand quite alone, for N. sg. *sēo*, G. sg. *fēos* appear to have *ēo* through contraction of *e + æ*. Yet the difference between the West Saxon forms and those of the Psalter certainly deserves consideration.

Contraction of Germ. *-a-* with *-a-* (*-o-* according to Sievers § 111) gives *-ēa-* in W. Sax. Inf. *slēan*. The hypothetical *\*slahon* is of course open to the same objections as *\*sehon*; yet it is scarcely credible that *-ea-* should result from contraction of *a + a*. The Infinitive *slēan* does not occur in the Psalter, but its existence in that dialect may be inferred from the Ind. pl. *sleað* (61, 4)‡. But *\*slahon* *\*sehan* can not have been contemporaneous forms in the same dialect. In the Conjunctive we have W. Sax. *slēa* against Ps. *-sle* (9, 29). According to Sievers the West

† Cp. *tuigendi* (cf. Lind. Conj. *getuiga*) can scarcely be directly compared with these forms (cf. p. 46).

‡ An examination of the Ind. pl. forms of *sean* makes it clear that at the time when contraction took place the ending was already *-aþ* (not *-ōþ* or *-oþ*) in the dialect of the Psalter. Against 2 *gefioð* and 2 *gesioð* we have 13 *gefiað*, 1 *gefæað*, 12 *gesiað* and 1 *geseað*. The origin of the forms with *-io-* is not difficult to trace. It is due in all probability to *bioð*, where the contraction is of much older date (cf. p. 57). *biað* (4) on the other hand is due perhaps to *-siað* etc. The influence of this verb is shown also by the 1 sg. *fleom* (138, 7), pl. *fleoð* (103, 7), and it is to be observed that *sean* and *\*flean* would regularly fall together throughout the Indicative and Conjunctive Present. (Cf. Lind. 1 sg. *-seom*.)

Saxon forms have  $\bar{e}a$ - through the analogy of the Indicative (and Infinitive). In the Ind. 1 sg.  $sl\bar{e}a$  would no doubt be regular, but it is worth observing that the ending  $-u$  only occurs once (viz. Hatt. p. 397) in early West Saxon texts.

Contraction of Germ.  $\bar{v}$ - with  $-a$ - ( $-o$ - Sievers) gives  $\bar{e}o$  in W. Sax.  $wr\bar{e}on$ , etc., which offer the same difficulties as  $s\bar{e}on$ . The Psalter has  $wrean$  (103, 9) where  $-ea$ - probably has the same value as in  $sean$ ,  $sian$  (cf. p. 14 n). The Conj.  $wr\bar{e}o$  in West Saxon is to be compared with  $s\bar{e}o$ , and presents the same difficulties.

It appears therefore that setting aside the difficulties connected with the contraction of  $e$  + following vowel in other classes of words, the explanation of the three types of verbs (1)  $s\bar{e}on$ , (2)  $sl\bar{e}an$ , (3)  $wr\bar{e}on$  propounded by Sievers is open to two serious objections: (i.) it necessitates our assuming that in the Infinitive (as also in the Indic. Pres. 3 pl.) the West Saxon dialect preserved a labial vowel (whether Idg.  $-o$ - or a later development of Germ.  $-a$ -) against  $-a$ - in the dialect of the Psalter etc., (ii.) it involves also that the Conjunctive Present in  $sl\bar{e}an$  and probably also in the other verbs is non-original and based mainly on the forms which show these peculiarities of contraction.

This however by no means exhausts the difficulties presented by these verbs on Sievers' hypothesis. Even in the earliest West Saxon texts the inflexion of  $wr\bar{e}on$  etc. has fallen together entirely with that of verbs like  $f\bar{e}on$  (with Germ.  $-eu$ -) in the Present system, and the confusion has spread from thence to the preterite (cf. Cosijn, § 80). Again, the 2, 3 sg.  $siehist$ ,  $sieh\delta$ ,  $sliehist$ ,  $slieh\delta$  have, like many other verbs with a short syllable, syncopated the  $-i$ - on the analogy of those verbs which have a long syllable. Before the syncope took place we must on Sievers' hypothesis suppose the forms in existence to have been  $*sih\bar{i}\bar{p}$ ,  $*sl\bar{e}^2h\bar{i}\bar{p}$ . But after the syncope one would expect only to find  $sih\bar{p}$ ,  $sl\bar{e}h\bar{p}$ , for we have no evidence to show that breaking before  $-h$ - was operative after the period of  $i$ -umlaut. W. Sax.  $twelf$  is a somewhat parallel case. It is also curious that if this later breaking took place the result should be the same in both cases. If

again the forms are due to analogy this can only spring from the Imperative *seoh, sleah* and the umlaut must be functional; but the suggestion is hardly worth serious consideration. Moreover we are confronted by a somewhat similar difficulty in the W. Sax. G.D. sg. *ie*. By Sievers' theory this can only be explained as a new and late formation from the N.A. sg. *ēa* on the analogy of *burg* : *byrg* etc.

There is one more case of contraction which requires consideration here viz. *nēar*. As has been above pointed out (p. 13) Sievers can not be right in tracing *nēar* direct to *\*nāhor*, since *-ā-* did not remain until so late a period. There is however no phonetic difficulty in referring *nēar* to *\*nāhor* †. Now according to Sievers (§ 57 d.) the vocalism of *nēah* is due to the analogy of *nēar*. Presumably then the regular form would be *nāh* ‡. This is not of course disproved by *nealæcan*, for Ps. *nehlaecan* is certainly a new form due to the influence of *neh*, the regular forms being *-niolaecan* etc. (cf. p. 13). But the superlative *nīehsta* presents a serious difficulty, for it is hardly credible that this is a new and late formation from the comparatively modern *nēah* with functional umlaut on the analogy of *hīehsta* : *hēah* etc., especially as the older comparative *nēar*, *nēa(r)ra* is umlautless; *nȳr*, *nȳra* do not occur in the early texts. But above all it seems arbitrary to separate W. Sax. *nēah* : *nēar* : *nīehsta* from O.H.G. *nāh(o)* : *nāhor* : *nāhisto*. Ps. *nest* certainly represents an earlier *\*nēhist*||.

† In the new edition (Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 57. 2. d, § 82) Sievers has abandoned this explanation and given that which I have put forward below. (Cf. also Cosijn § 61.)

‡ Paul (P.B.B. vi. 91) suggests that either *neah* is a contamination of *nāh* and *nea* (: G. *nehwa*), or the vowel had been shortened and subsequently undergone breaking.

|| The Frisian evidence on this point would be invaluable if the history of the forms was clear. There can not be much doubt that O.E. Fris. (superl.) *nēst* is identical with Ps. *nest*. One is also tempted to equate the comparative *niar* with the form *nior* in the glosses of Bede C. (W. Sax. *near*), but then E. Fris. *nā* and (superl.) *nāst* remain unexplained. *\*nēhor* (whence *niar*) may quite well owe its vocalism to the influence of O.E. Fris. *nēi*, W. Fris. *nei* (perhaps < *\*nēhwi*), while on the other hand no analogical influence seems to be possible in *nā*, *nāst*. If these forms come from *\*nāhu*,



The only alternative is to take *nēah* as a regular form with breaking of Germ. *ē* (or its later representative *ā* or *ē<sup>1</sup>*) before *χ*. According to Sievers (§ 82 ff.) breaking takes place only in the case of short vowels, but the reason for this restriction is not clear. Breaking is usually attributed to the fact that the vowel was not homorganic with *-χ-*, and if this is so, it would naturally depend not on the quantity but solely on the quality of the vowel. But the question can of course only be decided by the evidence, and in the case of Germ. *-ēχ-* we have no other examples. In the case of *-īχ-* however we have a probable example in W. Sax. *leoht*. According to Sievers (§ 125) shortening took place before *-ht-*. Granting that this is so—and the evidence does not seem to be absolutely conclusive—it by no means follows that this shortening took place before the operation of breaking. Such a supposition seems unlikely on account of *ahte* (pret.) *æht* (substv.) etc. If shortening had taken place in these words subsequent to the monophthongisation of Germ. *ai* but before the period of breaking, we should have had in West Saxon *\*eahte*, *\*ieht*; if on the other hand the shortening had taken place before the monophthongisation of Germ. *ai*, the literary forms would be equally impossible. A restoration of the long vowel from *āg* or *\*ai<sub>3</sub>* etc. is hardly likely since stem-variation between the preterite and present is the rule among these verbs. Sievers' theory gains some support from Lind. *leht* (Mtth. 11, 30 against Compv. *lihtre* Mtth. 10, 15) but there may have been confusion with *leht* = *lucidus* since many of their derivatives would regularly fall together (viz. whenever *-i-* occurred in the following syllable). It is noteworthy that the only example in early Northumbrian has *-i-* (L.V. *lictuald* l. 229). A parallel case is afforded by W. Sax. *weofod* beside Ps. *wibed* < *\*wīhbed* where there can scarcely be any suspicion of early shortening. So also in the Genealogies (O.E.T. p. 167 ff.) which contain a medley of forms belonging to different dialects and periods, we have *alouwiōh* (l. 43) which is perhaps to be compared with L.V. *aluwich* *\*nūh(w)ōst*, then Germ. *ē* before *-h-* must here also as in English have fallen together with Germ. *au*.

(l. 73), the latter having undergone palatal umlaut †. Again corresponding to W. Sax. *fēol* we find Cp. 1234, *fiil* (< \**fīχlō*- cf. O.H.G. *fīhala*, *fīla*). Further examples are W. Sax. *betweoh*, *betuh*, *betweonum* (Cosijn § 68) beside Ps. *betwih*, *betwinum*. The possibility of early shortening at least in *betweonum* : *betwinum* seems to be excluded by *læne* : O. Sax. *lehni*. Here also may be mentioned the form *eoh* in the Runic Poem beside Alph. *ih* (: O.L.G. *īch* cf. p. 49 n.). These examples seem to me enough to show that long vowels also were capable of breaking before Germ. *χ*, in other words that breaking was independent of the quantity of the vowel. A similar explanation has already been suggested by Cosijn (*l.c.*). If this is correct the Impv. 2 sg. *wrēoh* etc. (Sievers, § 84, n. 1) will be perfectly regular forms, while Ps. *-wrih* will have come from an earlier \**wrīuh* by palatal umlaut †.

In order to arrive at a solution of the difficulties which have been discussed above in regard to the results of contraction, it is necessary to bear in mind that the breaking before *-χ-* (*-h-*) can not have been due to the same phonetic causes which produced breaking before *r* and *l*. This is shown by the following facts: 1. breaking is produced by final *-χ* but not by final *-r*, *-l*. 2. breaking takes place before Germ. *-χj-* but not before Germ. *-rj-* (*-zj-*), or *-lj-*. Now the absence of all trace of breaking in W. Sax. *tellan* etc. || must be due to one of two causes, either the breaking before *-ll-* was hindered because these sounds were already palatalised at the time when the period of breaking began, or breaking must have ceased to operate when the gemination took

† L.V. *aluych* (l. 165) more probably contains a stem *-wiχja-*.

‡ Breaking of *-ī-* is now admitted by Sievers (Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 84. 2), but he thinks the result was *-ēo-* (whence *-ē-* by palatal umlaut). I can not accept this. It appears to rest entirely on the Lind. form *leht* (see above). Ps. *-wrih* etc. seem to me conclusive evidence to the contrary. (Cf. also Sievers, Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 165. 2, which is hardly consistent with § 84. 2.)

|| *sellan* must be regarded as the regular West Saxon form of Germ. \**saljan-*, since it alone occurs in the early texts. *syllan* is possibly of dialectic origin, cf. *siollanne* beside *hiobbanne* in a Mercian charter of about 840 (O.E.T. No. 48). In Lind. *sealla* there is probably back (*a-*) umlaut of *e*<sup>2</sup>. Umlaut of *e* before *a* does not occur in early Northumbrian texts, and was therefore probably late. *e*<sup>1</sup> and *e*<sup>2</sup> may then have fallen together.

place. Now in W. Sax. *hliehhan*, Ps. *hlæhað* (51, 8) breaking must have preceded *i*-umlaut. But it is incredible that breaking should have taken place in a form *\*hlæχχan*, in other words that a more or less palatal vowel should have developed after it a back element (whether labial or not) before a double consonant which had already undergone palatalisation. Therefore breaking must have taken place in this case before gemination. But up to the time of gemination the original Germanic division of syllables *\*ta-lja- \*hla-χja-* etc. appears to have been preserved (cf. Sievers P.B.B. XVI. 262 ff.). It appears therefore that breaking must have taken place before heterosyllabic *-χ-*. But if breaking could take place in a group *-a<sup>x</sup>-χja<sup>x</sup>-* there is no reason why it should not be possible also in a group *-a<sup>x</sup>-χa<sup>x</sup>-†*. This brings us to a solution identical in principle, though not in detail, with that proposed long ago by Holtzmann (Altd. Gr. pp. 179–181, 213), namely that certain vowels (in reality *a*, *ǣ*, *e*, *ī*) underwent breaking before *χ* in all positions. This theory is I believe the only one which will satisfactorily explain all the difficulties which beset the question of contraction. The form taken by breaking before heterosyllabic *-χ-* in each case may safely be assumed to be identical with the form which it took before *χ* + consonant and before final *χ*, namely 1. *eo* < *e*, e.g. W. Sax. *\*seohan* > *sēon*, *\*teohadæ* > *tēode*, 3 sg. *\*tweohap* > *twēoð*, Conj. *\*seohæ* > *sēo*, N. sg. fem. *\*seohæ* > *sēo*, G. sg. *\*feohæs* > *fēos*; in the dialect of the Psalter on the other hand *-e-* must have been restored by palatal umlaut, hence *sean*, *sian* < *\*sehan*, Conj. *se* < *\*sehæ* etc.; so also in the 3 sg. Ps. *sið* < *\*sihiþ* where West Saxon preserves the breaking but has syncopated the second syllable *siehð*. 2. *īu* (*īo*) < *ī*, e.g. W. Sax. *\*wrīuhan* > *wrēon*, Conj. *\*wrīuhæ* > *wrēo*; the Psalter has *wrean* < *\*wrīhan* with palatal umlaut. The phonetic confusion of the West Saxon diphthongs *ēo* and *īo*, and of the diphthongs *ēa* and *īa* in the dialect of the Psalter took place no doubt after the contraction period.

† Sievers is now inclined to adopt the same explanation (Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 84, Anm. 2, § 111. 2 etc.).



The diphthong in W. Sax. Inf. *slēan*, N.A. sg. *ēa* seems to me to point to the existence of forms *\*slēahan*, *\*ēahu* (cf. *-eah* in Chart. 52, 53) before the period of contraction. Then the effect produced on *-a-* (as also upon *-e-*, *-i-*) by a following *-χ-* was identical with the effect produced by labial umlaut (e.g. in L.V. *beadu-* beside *badu-*). In the dialect of the Psalter palatal umlaut would produce (pl.) *\*slēhað* and (from 1 sg. *\*slēahu*) *\*slēhu* which would regularly lead to *slēað*, *slēa*. The West Saxon Conj. *slēa* will then come quite regularly from *\*slēahæ*, while the G.D. sg. *īe* will come from an earlier *\*iehi* (or more exactly *\*ēa'hi*) with a diphthong apparently identical with that in 3 sg. *sliehð*. The Psalter has Conj. sg. *sle* (9, 29) and Indic. 2, 3 sg. *sles*, *sleð* (so also *ðwes*, *ðweð*). The result of the contraction of *æ + i* is obviously *ē* in this dialect, and unless *sle* is a mistake for *\*slē* the same must be true for the contraction of *æ + æ*. This seems to point to a second and later change of *ē̄ > ē* in the dialect of the Psalter, for a change of this kind was in operation before the period of contraction (cf. p. 13). The late Northumbrian forms are very difficult. The vocalism of Germ. *\*slahan-* appears in the Lindisfarne gloss under the following forms: Indic. sg. *-æ-* and *-ae-* (13 examples in all); Indic. pl. *-ae-* (10), *-á-* (1), *-aa-* (1); Conj. *-æe-* (1), *-a* (1); Infin. *-aa* (10), *-ae* (6), *-ea* (1); Participle *-æ-* (1), *-ae-* (1) besides forms with *-g-*. The Imperative *slah* (2) must be due to analogical influence as is shown by pret. *sæh* etc. in spite of *ðuahles* (Joh. 12, 3). Of the other forms the 2, 3 sg. *slaes*, *slæð* may come regularly from *\*slæhis*, *\*slæhið* (cf. Cp. 1857 *slaet*). I am not convinced that Sievers' explanation of the Infin. *slaa* (§ 166) is correct; *-a-* before *-χ-* occurs also in *acha* Bede III. 6 but this word may be related to W. Sax. *earh* as L.V. *hadda* (l. 159) to *heard* and may consequently belong to the same series as *ceolla*, *beonna* etc. (: *ceorl*, *beorn*); again with Lind. *ðuahles* may be compared Ef. 326 *thuachl*, though the corresponding gloss in Corpus (641) has *ðhuehl*; probably the influence of *-w-* is to be taken into account (cf. p. 35); the only other case of *-a-* before *-h-* in the glossaries is the doubtful Cp. *slahæ* (1576



cf. p. 139). On the whole it seems to me the most probable that the difference between *slea* and *slaa* (perhaps also *slæ*) is purely orthographical and that the sound was a "low mixed" vowel identical with that in *ðarf*, *ðærf*, *ðearf* (cf. p. 36) arising through mutual assimilation of the two members of the diphthong. It is true that *-a-* is not used for *-ēa-* < Germ. *au*, but it is quite possible that the older and later *āa-* diphthongs did not fall together in Northumbrian, the former having begun the change to *-ēa-* (cf. p. 12) before the latter was fully developed. From Germ. \**þwaχan-* we have in Lindisfarne: Indic. 1 sg. *ðoa* (1), 2, 3 sg. *ðuoas* (3), pl. *ðwas* (1), Conj. *ðoa* (1), Infin. *ðoa* (3), *ðuoā* (1), Impv. *ðuah* (3). It seems quite as likely that *-oa-* comes from *-ea-* as that it comes from *-a-*.

Setting aside the problematical forms of Lindisfarne†, contraction in all dialects regularly takes place according to the following rules: 1. *-æ-*, *-i-* disappear, e.g. W. Sax. *sēo*, *slēa*, *wrēo*, *flēo*, *fō* < \**seohæ*, \**slæahæ*, \**wrīuhæ*, \**flēohæ*, \**fōhæ*; Ps. *se*, *flen* < \**sehæ*, \**flēhæn* and probably *sle* < \**slē* < \**slæhæ*; W. Sax. *īe* < \**iehi*; Ps. *sið*, *wrið*, *tið*, *heð* < \**sihīþ*, \**wrīhīþ*, \**tīhīþ*, \**hēhīþ* and probably *sleð* < \**slēþ* (cf. Lind. *slæð*) < \**slæhīþ*. 2. *-a-* disappears after back vowels and diphthongs whose second member is a back vowel e.g. W. Sax. *fōn*, *sēon*, *slēan*, *wrēon*, *flēon*, *hēa* < \**fōhan*, \**seohan*, \**slæahan*, \**wrīuhan*, \**flēohan*, \**hēaha*; and forms a diphthong with front vowels and diphthongs whose second member is a front vowel, e.g. W. Sax. *hēan* < \**hēehan*; Ps. *sean*, *sleað*, *wrean*, *hea* < \**sehan*, \**slæhaþ*, \**wrīhan*, \**hēha*. 3. *-u* disappears after diphthongs e.g. W. Sax. *ēa* < *æahu*, *nēa-* < \**nēahu-* and forms a diphthong with front vowels e.g. Ps. *-sio*, *slea*, *neo-* < \**sehu* (\**sihu*?) \**slæhu*, \**nēhu-*. Contraction therefore follows fixed principles. By this theory also the W. Sax. Conj. *sēo*, *slēa*, *wrēo* are found to be perfectly regular and we escape from the necessity of having to suppose that in West Saxon and in that dialect alone *-ø-* was pre-

† The difficult problems arising from the contraction of *ū*, *ȳ* with a following vowel are also omitted because they have no bearing on the present discussion. Cf. Sievers § 116, 117.

served in the Infinitive; the 3 sg. *siehð*, *sliehð*, *wr̄iehð* again apart from the syncope in the two former turn out to be quite regular, coming from earlier \**siuhiþ*, \**sliehiþ*, \**wr̄uhiþ*.

Note 1. Chronology of the sound-changes treated above.

The discussion of the effects of *i*-umlaut, palatal umlaut and contraction enables us to arrive at some reasonably probable conclusions with regard to the relative chronology of these changes. 1. Contraction through the loss of intervocalic *-h-* was preceded in Northumbrian and in the dialect of the Psalter by palatal umlaut (cf. p. 10), and by the change  $\bar{æ}^4 > \bar{e}$  (cf. p. 13). 2. The change of  $\bar{æ}^4 > \bar{e}$ , which seems to have been contemporaneous with the change of  $\bar{æ}^1$  and  $\bar{æ}^3 > \bar{e}$  (cf. p. 11), was preceded by palatal umlaut. 3. Palatal umlaut was later than *i*-umlaut (cf. p. 5).

For fixing the absolute chronology the safest evidence is that of the Moore MS. (M.) of Bede which appears to have been written in 737. In this MS. intersonantal *-h-* is always lost, e.g. *-halæ* v. 24, *selæs* iv. 13, v. 18, *ea* iv. 16, *eumer* ii. 9, *treanta* iii. 24, etc. (cf. Pogatscher, *E. S.* XIX. 347, Anm. 2). The form *ea* is especially important since it shows that contraction was fully developed. From this fact, together with the total absence of forms with *-h-* in M. and all other Northumbrian texts, we are bound to conclude that the loss of intersonantal *-h-* must have taken place before the end of the seventh century, and this conclusion agrees with the evidence from other parts of England. The glossaries frequently retain forms with *-h-*, but there can scarcely be any doubt that the original archetype MS. of Epinal Erfurt (which can hardly have been written after 720, cf. p. 154 ff.) contained examples of contraction due to this cause. In a Kentish charter of 679 (O. E. T. No. 4) we find an example of *-h-* in *uelhisci*, but in the same charter there is apparently a case of contraction in *uuestan æe*. The writing *-æe-* for  $\bar{æ}^1$ ,  $\bar{æ}^3$ ,  $\bar{æ}^4$  on the other hand is frequent in M. In *aedvini*, etc., it may very well be due to copying from older documents,

but the form *baeda*, which is not peculiar to M. (though C. has *beada* in v. 24), seems to show that Bede himself wrote his name thus. Therefore since Bede was born in 672 this makes it probable that *-ae-* was the customary spelling at least as late as 680. Palatal umlaut, as has been said above, is universal in M. with the exception of several cases of *earcon* (cf. p. 8 f.).

For the period before 737 we are practically dependent on the evidence of a few Runic inscriptions. There is a very strong probability that the inscription of Bewcastle dates from a time not long after 664 (cf. Vietor, p. 46). This inscription seems to have  $e = \bar{a}^4$  in *becn* and  $e = \bar{a}^1$  in *hwætræd*. Unfortunately neither letter is quite clear, but in the former case at least  $\bar{a}$  seems to be impossible. The inscription on the casket of Clermont shows a consistently archaic form of language such as would scarcely be possible after 700, though the use of *-f* in *wylif* prevents us from assigning to it a much earlier date. Especially noticeable is the form *fiodu* which can be nothing but a N. sg. form with retention of *-u*. But that this *-u* was no longer pronounced seems to be shown by its absence in *-ne3* and probably also by its incorrect usage in *ziuþeasu*. Palatal umlaut in this inscription is shown by *-ne3*, *fæztaþ*, *beriz*, and probably *ferzen-*. The first of these also shows  $e = \bar{a}^4$ , but against this stands  $\bar{a} = \bar{a}^1$  in *þær†*. According to Pogatscher (E. S. XIX. 347) this inscription shows loss of *-h-* in *-walus* (twice) which he identifies with *walh*.

The evidence of these early inscriptions together with M. seems to show that the operation of palatal umlaut can not have been later than the middle of the seventh century. The only case (apart from *earcon-* above) in Northumbrian in which a diphthong is preserved is the form *eoh* in the inscription of Kirkheaton. Since the stone bears no cross or other sign of Christian influence it is quite likely to date from the first half of cent. VII. It may be mentioned that Kirkheaton is in the neighbourhood of the supposed site of

† Not indeed an absolutely safe example since Lindisfarne twice has *ðær* (probably at first the unaccented form) against 141 *ðer*.



Campodunum *ubi tunc etiam* (i.e. in Edwin's reign) *uilla regia erat* (Bede II. 14). The inscription must on the other hand be later than 616, as appears from the words of Nennius *ipse* (i.e. Edwin) *occupauit Elmet et expulit Certic regem illius regionis* (Harl. § 63). The irregular syncope of *-u* in *eoh* can not perhaps be taken as a proof that *-u* had been already syncopated after long syllables.

The Alphabet in Codex Salisburgensis 140 may be briefly discussed here. It appears to be a late copy of a Northumbrian text of the 8th century, which there is some evidence for connecting with Alchwine. Syncope of *-u* appears in *ðorn*, *uyn*, *ac*, *ti* and irregularly in *fech*; palatal umlaut appears in *fech*, *ih*, *ilcs*, *berc*, *eh*. On the other hand there is no certain occurrence of *e* for  $\bar{e}$ . *-ae* for  $\bar{a}^1$  appears in *gaer* and *-ae-* for  $\bar{a}^3$  in *naed*. In spite of these archaisms however the umlaut in *geofu* and the use of  $\delta$ - in *ðorn* seem to point to a later date for the original than that of M. It is noticeable that the new letters for guttural *c*,  $\mathfrak{z}$  do not occur. They are absent also from Clermont but both appear in Bewcastle, though the old letter for *c* is used also with guttural value (in *becn*).

The conclusions arrived at during the above discussion may be briefly summarised as follows:—1. Palatal umlaut seems to have taken place before 650. 2. The change of  $\bar{a}^1$  ( $\bar{a}^3$ ,  $\bar{a}^4$ ) >  $\bar{e}$  was in operation about 650—680; the loss of intersonantal *-h-* belongs to the same period or a little later. 3. Contraction through the loss of intervocalic *-h-* follows the preceding and may be dated roughly about 680—710. These arguments apply primarily of course only to the Northumbrian dialect, but there is nothing in the language of the Psalter to show that the same does not hold good here also in the main. The most important difference is that palatal umlaut in this dialect was preceded by labial umlaut; there is a difference also in the treatment of the intervocalic group *-rh-* (cf. p. 7 f., 9).

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Note 2. The discussion of these questions throws some light upon the history of the Germanic diphthong *au*.

1. Germ. *au* was during the seventh century in Northumbrian and in the dialect of the Psalter a diphthong, the first member of which was an  $\bar{a}$ -sound. This is shown:— i. by the occasional forms with *-aea-*, *-aeo-* in M. A similar instance occurs in a Kentish charter of 732 *aeamberhti* (O.E.T. 6); with this may be compared the form *aea* (O.E.T. 5, 7) with diphthong arising from contraction, and the forms *-haearði*, *-iaearði* (O.E.T. 6) with short diphthongs. The later examples of *-æa-*, e.g. Ps. *geræafie* (9, 30), C. P. *ðæah* (H. 357), are so rare that no certain conclusions can be drawn from them†. ii. by the effects of palatal umlaut which produced  $\bar{æ}$  (whence later  $\bar{e}$ ) at least in Northumbrian.

2. Since the effect of *i*-umlaut upon this diphthong is identical in all dialects with its effect on the short diphthongs (cf. p. 3 ff.), it would seem that at that period the difference between the two classes of diphthongs was one of quantity only.

3. At the time when the Germanic gutturals *k*, *ɣ* were palatalised before palatal vowels (which took place before the completion of *i*-umlaut) the first member of this diphthong (as also of the short diphthong arising from Germ. *a* before *r* + consonant) must have had palatal value. Unfortunately no examples of Germ. *kau-* *ɣau-* are preserved in the Runic character and only one of Germ. *ɣar-* (namely Ruthwell *žeredæ*), but the later history of these combinations leaves no room for doubt. Examples from other early sources are *iaces*, Ef. 263, and the corresponding *ieces* in Cp. (380), *-iaee* in a Kentish Charter of 740 (O.E.T. 7); so also in Bede IV. 6, C. has *suthriena* against M. B. N. *sudergeona* (cf. *iaruman* M. III. 24, etc.).

The sound change *au* >  $\bar{æ}a$  has been explained in various ways. The most generally accepted theories are those of

† According to Sweet (*H. E. S.* § 427) the first element of the diphthong was always  $\bar{a}$ —the change being merely graphic. But the monophthongised W. Sax. *gēr*, *nēh* etc. seem to me to point clearly to  $\bar{e}a$  not  $\bar{æ}a$ .

Kluge (P. G. 1. p. 880) and of Paul (P. B. B. vi. 96). According to Kluge, with whom Sweet (H. E. S. § 459) practically agrees, the development was  $au > æu > æo > éa$  (Sweet  $æa$ ). But in that case the history of the diphthong  $au$  must from the beginning have been entirely different from that of the diphthong  $ai$ . In the other Germanic languages the history of the two diphthongs is in general the same; thus in Old Saxon  $ai > ē$ ,  $au > ō$ ; in Old High German  $ai > ei$ ,  $au > ou$  (with reservations); in Old Norse  $ai > ei$ ,  $au > ou$  (also with reservations); and so far as it is possible to estimate, the changes in the two diphthongs appear to have been at least approximately contemporaneous. Hence in English we should, as Sweet (H. E. S. § 445) says, expect a change  $ai > ei$ . By this theory also we are bound to separate English entirely from Frisian which has  $\bar{a} < au$ . Paul on the other hand gives  $au > ao$  (which he says was contemporaneous with the change  $eu > eo$ )  $> æo > æa$ . This however can not be altogether right, for Germ.  $eu$  is still occasionally preserved in the oldest texts, e.g. *3reut* (Clermont), *hreutford* (M.), *steupfaedaer* (Ep.), while forms with  $-ao-$  are absolutely unknown—indeed the palatalisation of the first member of the diphthong must, as has been said above, have taken place before the palatalisation of initial gutturals, which was long before the date of the oldest texts. But there is one point to which sufficient attention has not been given by either theory, namely that the first element in the diphthong  $au$  (and so also in the diphthongs  $eu$ ,  $iu$ ) must have undergone lengthening; for the difference between (e.g.) Ps. *sæh* and *fleh* is only intelligible on the hypothesis that at the time when palatal umlaut took place there was a quantitative difference between these words (*\*sæah—\*flāah*). The diphthongisation of Germ.  $a$ ,  $e$ ,  $i$  which took place before  $-χ-$  did not of course lengthen the syllable, but the exact parallelism (e.g. in respect to palatal umlaut) which exists between the new and old diphthongs makes it probable that the second element in the old diphthongs was at an early period no more stressed than the new element developed after Germ.  $a$ ,  $e$ ,  $i$  before  $χ$ , and



that therefore the difference between the two classes of diphthongs consisted simply of a difference of quantity in the first element. But when did the lengthening of the first element take place?

It is quite possible that the first stages in the development of the diphthongs *au*, *ai* may have been identical. In the case of Germ. *ai* the development in English may have been *ai* >  $\bar{a}i$  >  $\bar{a}^i$  >  $\bar{a}$  with gradual absorption of the second element as in Lith. (dialectic) *káilis* < *káilibis* †. The same process may have begun also in the case of the diphthong *au* and seems to have been completely carried out in Frisian, eg. 3 sg. pret. *flah* (= *uolauit* Ps. 17) against Engl. (Ps.) *fleh*, cf. Lith. dial. *spíáju* < *spíáuju*; but in English its further development was hindered by the palatalisation of the first element. The change  $\bar{a}u$  >  $\bar{e}u$  might be identified with the change  $\bar{a}$  >  $\bar{e}^1$  (in W. Sax. *strāet* Kent. North. *strēt*, etc.), but against this stands the fact that Frisian has on the one hand *flāh*, *āge* (: W. Sax. *flēah*, *ēage*), on the other *rēd*, *brēkon* (: W. Sax. *rād*, *brācon*). It is more likely that the change  $\bar{a}u$  >  $\bar{e}u$  was due to the same phonetic causes as the changes  $\bar{a}u$  >  $\bar{e}u$  (whence later  $\bar{e}a$ ) in *fēa* (cf. p. 44),  $\check{a}u$  >  $\check{e}u$  in *slēan*, *ēa*, etc. (cf. p. 21), and (labialised) *a* (more strictly  $\check{a}u$ ) >  $\check{e}u$  ( $\check{e}a$ ) in *beadu-* etc.; in other words that there was a universal palatalisation of  $\check{a}$  (without regard to the quantity) before a tautosyllabic *u*-element. This palatalisation did not take place in Frisian, but the former presence of an *u*-element is shown by the preservation of *-a-* in 3, sg. pret. *machte*. The relationship of Fris. *machte* : *flāh* is then identical with the relationship of Engl. Ps. *saeh*, *maehte* : *fleh*, W. Sax. *seah* : *flēah*. The development of this *u*-element

† There is of course another explanation possible, viz. that the second element was gradually assimilated to the first through lowering, and subsequently through depalatalisation; and this theory seems to be the one favoured by Sievers (Phon. § 41, *a*). It is obvious that this explanation also will apply in part to Germ. *au*—the second element being first lowered and then delabialised, but in this case the palatalisation of the first element must have preceded the latter change. Yet it seems to me more probable that the development took place as in Lithuanian according to the theory stated in the text above.



in Fris. *machte*, will be due to the same cause as the breaking in *riucht* (: W. S. *reoht* etc., Ps. *reht*).

The change in the second member of the *ǣu*-diphthongs (*ǣu* > *ǣo*, written *aeo*, *aea*) is no doubt due to its lack of stress. It is a case of partial assimilation; in the language of phonetics the high back labial element *u* was assimilated to the low front *æ*, becoming the corresponding low back labial (*o*). A similar change in the reverse direction is shown by the diphthong *īu* < *ia* in *friu*- etc. (cf. p. 56 ff.). The change *æo* > *æa* is parallel to the universal change *o* > *a* in unaccented syllables, and may be due in this case as in that to the absence of stress on the element *o*.

Lastly there is a change *ǣa* > *ēa* which seems to be due to tone-raising in the first element of the diphthong, though the cause of this is not obvious. In Northumbrian this change seems not to have affected the short *æa*-diphthongs, which had arisen by breaking from Germ. *a* (cf. p. 22). The change *ǣa* > *ēa* (and probably also *æa* > *ea*) may have taken place earlier in West Saxon than elsewhere. Such a hypothesis would at least account for the peculiar results of *i*-umlaut in diphthongs which this dialect presents.

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### 3. THE DIPHTHONGS ARISING FROM GERM. *a*, *e*, *i* BEFORE *r*, *l* FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT.

Breaking before *l* + consonant is confined to the Southern dialects and does not occur in the earliest Kentish texts (before 770). Before dealing with this subject it is necessary to discuss briefly the treatment of Germ. *a* before *l* + consonant in the Midland and Northern dialects.

There is no evidence whatever in these dialects to show that *-a-* in this position had ever become palatalised (*æ<sup>1</sup>*) or undergone breaking. A preceding guttural is not palatalised, and in respect of *i*-umlaut the treatment of *a* in this position is precisely similar to that of *ā* < Germ. *ai*. Hence it has often been too readily assumed that *a* in this position underwent lengthening before the operation of *i*-umlaut. This however is a mistake. No lengthening took place before

antevocalic *-lh-*; for that Ps. 3 sg. *fileð*, Conj. *fele* have a short initial syllable is shown by the new formation in the Pret. pl. *felun* (= *fēlun*) and probably also by the umlaut in Infin. *fealan* (cf. p. 8). So also N.E. *Wales* presupposes *wālas* (not *wālas*) < \**walhas*. But since the loss of *-h-* in the antevocalic group *-lh-* did not take place till after the operation of palatal umlaut (cf. p. 8, 9), the lengthening must belong to a period much later than that of *i*-umlaut. When this lengthening took place and how far it was conditioned (as in Fris. *kāld* but *hāls*) by the following sounds are questions that need not be discussed here. The correct statement of the law for the Northumbrian and Midland dialects (as also for Frisian) is that the change of *-al-* > *æ<sup>1</sup>l-* was prevented by a following consonant.

Some explanation of the fact that this change did not take place is certainly needed. The treatment of Germ. *a* before nasals can not be compared in any way, for not only had a qualitative change in the value of *a* taken place at an early date in the latter case, but further the nasal exercised its influence in all positions alike, whether final or when followed by a consonant or vowel. But before final *-l* and before *-l-* followed by a vowel the treatment of *a* is identical with its treatment before other consonants in the same positions. The only peculiarity is the retention of *-a-* before *-l-* followed by a consonant. I do not see any explanation for this phenomenon other than the suggestion—which is not new—that these syllables were not really close at the time when the change *a* > *æ<sup>1</sup>* in close syllables took place,—in other words that svarabhakti had operated at this time. Svarabhakti between *l* and a following consonant is a frequent phenomenon in the other Germanic languages and is not unknown in the earliest English texts, e.g. *-ualach* in the Namur MS. of Bede, *wylif* in Clermont, *aluch-* in L.V. and probably *ilugsegg* in Epinal (against *ilcs* in the Alphabet). The subsequent disappearance of the svarabhaktic vowel may be due to the same causes as the loss of the interior syllable in Cp. *heolstras* beside Ep. *helustras*, Bede C. *ceortes* beside M. *cerotaes* (iv. 6) etc.

This theory has been attacked on the ground that svarabhakti is impossible in the medial group *-ll-* before which *-a-* is nevertheless preserved. But as a matter of fact it is questionable whether the change  $a > \text{æ}^1$  is regular before double consonants in general (except those arising from gemination before *-j-*, in which case the change  $a > \text{æ}^1$  probably preceded the gemination cf. p. 76). Thus in *Liber Vitae* we find *bacga* (5), *adda* (4), *hadda*, *atta*, *abba*, *adding*, *addul*, *bralluc* against *aella* (2), *aelli*, *aetti*, *paelli*, the last three of which almost certainly have *i*-umlaut, as all dissyllabic names ending in *-i* in *Liber Vitae* have either *-i-* or umlaut vowels with the single exception of *cuddi* (l. 161); *aella* may also have *i*-umlaut. Sievers (§ 10) gives a list—which might be greatly extended—of words which preserve *-a-* before a double consonant. Thus, whatever may be the explanation of *-a-* before *-ll-* as also before other double consonants—and in none of these cases is its preservation likely to be due to svarabhakti—this fact can not be used as an argument against the possibility of svarabhakti in the case of *-l-* followed by some dissimilar consonant.

The treatment of Germ. *-ala-* at the end of the first member of a compound is not quite clear; both *-al-* and *-æl-* occur. In such forms as Ep. *uuæltreab* secondary influence from the uncompounded form is possible, but it is not easy to see how such can be the case with *ælberct* which occurs twice (l. 86, 154) in *Liber Vitae*. Yet on the other hand L.V. has 25 *alberct*, 4 *albercht*, 2 *alric*, 1 *aluich* (l. 73) and 1 *aluych* (l. 165) †; Bede likewise has *alric*. The absence of forms with *\*all-* is against the supposition that the vocalism has been affected by *\*alla-*; so that, in spite of the fact that *æl-* remains unexplained, the superiority of the evidence for *al-* compels us to see in this the regular representative of Germ. *ala-*. Again in Cp. *walcyrge* (771), *walcrigge* (1018), *uualcyrge* (2017) the influence of the uncompounded form is much less likely than in *uuæltreab*. That the change  $a > \text{æ}^1$  did not regularly take place in this position is also made

† The last two examples are referred to *alu* by Sweet.



probable by the comparative lateness of the syncope of Germ. *-a-* in this position (cf. p. 77 f.).

It must be remembered that in contrast to the breaking before *-χ-* the condition necessary for breaking before *r, l* was that these sounds should be immediately followed by a consonant. Before final *-r, -l* no breaking took place (cf. 3 sg. pret. *bær, stæl*); hence the supposition that breaking was due simply to the fact that *r, l* were not homorganic with *æ, e, i* is out of the question.

According to the generally accepted view breaking before *r, l* took place before the operation of *i*-umlaut, and this theory perfectly suits the complete agreement which prevails in all dialects between the *i*-umlaut of Germ. *a* before *r + consonant* (and in West Saxon before *l + consonant*) and the *i*-umlaut of Germ. *au*. The fact that before *r + consonant* the Northumbrian and Midland dialects have *-e-* (e.g. L.V. *uern-*, Ps. *ermðu*), might indeed be used as an argument for showing that the forms existing immediately before the operation of *i*-umlaut had *-æ<sup>1</sup>-* (*\*wæ<sup>1</sup>rni-*, *\*ærmīpu*), but then the diphthongal forms of West Saxon and the *-æ-* forms of the glosses would need explanation; but it has been shown above (p. 5 f.) that these *e-* forms are in all probability to be explained otherwise. On the other hand the accepted view is confirmed by Ps. *wyrðe, wyrrest*, etc. These forms must have *\*wyr-* < *\*wur-* by *i*-umlaut, and *\*wur* must have been a monophthongised form of *\*wiur-*. A similar (though somewhat later) change is seen in *wudu* < *\*wiudu* < *widu* (Ep. *wuidu-*). Again in the case of W. Sax. *-a-* before *l + consonant*, it has been pointed out above (p. 19 f.) that the cause of the absence of breaking in *tellan* must be either that breaking had ceased to operate when the gemination of *-l-* took place or that the *-ll-* was still palatal enough to prevent breaking from taking effect. If the latter explanation is correct the presence of breaking in 3 sg. *fielð* etc. shows that in such words *-ll-* were not yet palatalised and conse-



quently that *i*-umlaut had not yet begun when breaking was in operation †.

There are not sufficient data for deciding definitely the chronological relation of the breaking before *r*, *l* + consonant to the syncope of final (Germ.) *-a* and to the change of *a* > *æ*<sup>1</sup> in close syllables. For the change of *a* > *æa* (e.g. in \**harðu* > *hæard*) does not necessarily involve the assumption of an intermediate stage *-æ-* (e.g. \**hærd*). This is clear from the use of *beadu-*, *heaðu-* beside *badu-*, *haðu-* in *Liber Vitae* and elsewhere, while \**bædu-*, \**hæðu-* are unknown. But though not absolutely necessary the assumption is made very probable by the fact that breaking is found also before *-r-* < Germ. *-z-* e.g. in *mearg* (: O. Bulg. *mozgǔ*), probably also in Ps. *gerd*, W.S. *gyrd* < \**zæardi* : Goth. *gazds* cf. p. 123); *-z-* was preserved at least before *-n-* until after the change *a* > *æ*<sup>1</sup> had taken place (cf. Kluge, P.G.<sup>2</sup> p. 372). So also the corresponding forms in Frisian show the change *a* > *æ* (whence *e*) but no breaking e.g. O.E. Fris. *therwe*, *kerf*, *bern*, *erm*, *hermskeed*, *therm*, *merc*, *merch*, beside W. Sax. *þearf*, *cearf*, *bearn*, *earm*, *hearm*, *þearm*, *mearc*, *mearg* ‡. The Merseburg glosses have *therua* but *iermhed*. If then the change *a* > *æ*<sup>1</sup> preceded breaking, it follows in all probability that the latter took place subsequently to the syncope of final *-a*, for there is no reason to suppose that any change *a* > *æ* took place before that. Forms like *bearu*, *gearu* must therefore like *fæger*, *æcer* etc. be due to the influence of those forms in which the case-ending was preserved ||.

† In the case of *-i-* breaking may have been repeated later. Thus in W. Sax. 3 sg. *bierð* (beside *birð*, *bireð*) it would seem to have taken place subsequent to the syncope of *-i-*. Possibly also the breaking in *iernan*, *biernan* may not belong to the early period.

‡ There is no necessity for supposing that breaking has ever taken place in O.E. Fris. *warth*, *swart*, *warte* (: O.E. *wearþ*, *swearþ*, *wearte*). These words may have *a* < *æ* (through the influence of initial *w-*) as in *was* : O.E. *wæs*.

|| Sievers' explanation of *æcer*, *fæger* etc. (§ 49, cf. § 14) is not quite satisfactory. The regular N. sg. is preserved in forms like *wacor* : Urn. *wakraR* (Reidstad); so also *hagol* beside *hæg(e)l*, the latter form belonging originally to the oblique cases. Similarly in O. Sax. *akkar*, O.H.G. *acchar*, a form which belonged originally to the oblique cases has survived and finally ousted

The appearance of *-ar-* in place of *-ear-* is common in all dialects in the second member of compound proper names—a fact which is generally, and in all probability rightly, attributed to the fact that such syllables bore a subordinate accent. But in Northumbrian texts (both early and late) the same phenomenon is not unfrequently found in fully accented syllables. Thus Bede M. has *farne* III. 16, IV. 27, 29, 30; *-farnensis* Praef., *-faronensem* III. 22; *baruæ* IV. 3. Caedmon's Hymn has *uard* (twice), *barnum*. Other examples are *warþ* (Clermont), *tharf* (Bede's Death-song), *uarp* (Leiden Riddle). Liber Vitae has apparently only one example viz. *arduini* (l. 213) against 44 examples of *earð-*, *heard-*, *earn-*†. The Ritual has altogether 13 examples of *-ar-* before consonants, viz. *arm* (as substantive twice and as adjective twice), *nedðarf*, *farra*, *hehfaro*, *stancarr*, *farniga*, *to-ward* (etc. 4 times), against about 120 examples of *-ear-* in the same position (Lindelöf § 9. i.). Lindisfarne has in St Mark's Gospel 16 examples of *-a-* (including three of loan-words) viz. *arg*, *gedarste*, *nedðarf* (2), *-warð* (4), *-warp* (3), *geonduarde* (2), *carcern* (2), *carre*—besides 8 cases of *arð*—against 78 examples of *-ea-* (Lea, Angl. xvi. 75, 76). For the other gospels statistics are wanting as yet. *-a-* is however not rare; we find e.g. 3 *arm* (substantive) but no *earn*, 4 *barm*—against 2 *bearm-*, 11 *ðarf-* (*ðarfe*, *ðarflic* etc.) against 1 *ðearf*, 5 *ðærf-* (*ðærf-*), 1 *ðorfe*, 1 *ðafo*‡, while *-warð* etc. are frequent.

In the other dialects the case is quite different. In the early West Saxon texts there are only two examples of *-ar-* viz. *art* (C. 180) *ðarf* (H. 203). The Psalter has *-ar-* only in the loan-word *carcerne* (141, 8) and in *margen-* which however is a case by itself. In the glossaries *-ar-* is somewhat more frequent. Epinal has only *sparuua* (897), but Erfurt besides *sparua* has also *uard* (333), *uard* (737), *ediscuard* (148). the regular form of the N.A. sg. The absence of gemination in *æcer* etc. is no argument against this explanation (cf. p. 69 f.).

† In the second member there are 11 examples of *-hard* against 51 *-heard*.

‡ In *ned-ðarf* *-ea-* does not occur at all, probably because the second syllable had a subordinate accent.

Corpus has *neþoúard* (5), *sarwo* (88), *waar* (426), *bisparrade* (1451), *barrigae* (282), *barice* (330), *tharme* (2140), *þuarm* (1795). Leiden varies between *-a-* and *-ae-* and has no examples of *-ea-*; but little importance can be attached to this, as this MS. has also other orthographical peculiarities.

The evidence of the glossaries combined with that of the early Northumbrian texts makes it probable either that original *-a-* remained under certain conditions or at least that the reversion took place very early. It is not unlikely that *-a-* was preserved before *-rr-* as before other double consonants (cf. p. 31); this does not apply to *-rr- < -rz-* before which the change  $a > \text{æ}$  and subsequently breaking seem to have taken place, e.g. in W. Sax. *fearr*, *fear* (cf. Kluge Wb.<sup>5</sup> p. 99). Palatal vowels seem to have undergone breaking before *-rr-* in West Saxon under all circumstances (e.g. *feor*, *steorra*, *afierran*, *ierre*), but in the dialect of the Psalter apparently only when the following syllable contained (originally) a back vowel (e.g. *feor < \*feorru*, *steorra*) or when *-rr-* represents an older *-rz-* (e.g. *eorre*); before *-rr(i)-* in *a-firran* there is no breaking. Possibly *-a-* was regularly preserved or restored under certain conditions before *-rw-* as in Ep. *sparuua* (cf. O.E. Fris. *nara* : W. Sax. *nearu*), but in some of these words *-a-* may come from forms in which *-w-* had regularly been lost, e.g. Cp. 88 *sarwo* for *\*sar(w)u*. *-i-* is preserved from breaking in Ep. 534 *bismiridae* (Ef. *bismirida*, Cp. 1095 *bismiride*), Cp. 676 *gesmirwid*, Ps. *smireð*, *smirede*, cf. W. Sax. *smiriað* (H), *smirewað* (C. 2.), *smirede* (H. C.), but *smierewað* (H. p. 69)†. In Ep. *smeruui* etc. the absence of breaking may be due to the N.A. sg. Lastly it may be suggested that in certain cases the influence of initial *w-* may have tended to restore *-a-* as in Frisian (cf. p. 33 n.).

The few forms with *-a-* in the Southern and Midland dialects which do not admit of an explanation on one or other of these hypotheses are so isolated that no stress can be laid on them. But for many of the Northumbrian forms they are obviously inadequate. Nor again can I see that

† Possibly in *smierewað*, *-fierran*, *-ie-* does not represent an earlier *-iu* but is a late development of *-i-* as in *bierð < bireð* (cf. p. 33 n.).



there is any probability in Sweet's suggestion (H.E.S. § 436) that the (accented) forms with *-a-* are an extension of what was originally a "weak variation" of *-ea-*, though the phonetic development may have been similar to that which took place (in all dialects) in unaccented syllables. There can indeed be no doubt that in many of the later forms *-a-* is a subsequent development of *-ea-*. This is shown by such words as Lind. *farma* (< \**feorm-*), cf. *fattro* etc. beside *feotr* and *waras* beside *weras*. The change appears to be similar to the smoothing of the *ea-* diphthongs which took place in Middle English (cf. Sweet H.E.S. § 642). The diphthong appears to have been monophthongised by mutual assimilation of the two members, the result being probably not a pure guttural but a 'mixed' vowel. This accounts for forms like *ðærf*, *færmo* which appear beside *ðarf*, *farma*†. But can this explanation hold good also for the *a-* forms in Bede? It is difficult to account for the form *iaruman* (III. 24, 30, IV. 3 = Geneal. *gearomon* l. 34) on any other hypothesis. The word occurs in all the early MSS. without any important variation; *iuru-* in C. III. 30 is doubtless a scribal error. Two points are clear about this word: (1) at the time when guttural consonants were palatalised *ɝ-* must have been followed by a (more or less) palatal vowel. (2) in Bede's pronunciation this vowel can not have been a pure palatal; it is likewise difficult to believe that it was at all distinctly diphthongal. The 'low mixed wide' vowel of Sweet's tables seems best to suit the requirements of the case. If this is so it is a question whether (e.g.) *geard* in Caedmon's Hymn denotes anything else than *ǰārd* (*-a-* having the same quality as in *iaru-* above). The monophthongisation may not have been complete in Bede's time, but in the late Northumbrian texts *-ea-* is probably traditional spelling. With the rarity of *-a-* in *Liber Vitae* is to be compared the extreme rarity of *-ea-* for *-eo-* (cf. p. 87). It is possible that the scribe was somewhat of a purist and took pains to preserve the etymologically correct spelling. In some of the Northumbrian forms

† The vowel in *farma*, *færmo* need not necessarily have been identical with that in *ðarf*, *ðærf*, but cf. p. 87.



original *-a-* may have been preserved by svarabhakti—a common phenomenon between *-r-* and a following consonant both in the earliest English texts (e.g. Bewcastle *-buruz*, Clermont *-beriz*, Lancaster *-bereht*, Bede N. *-berict*, M. *-faronensem*, Leid. Rid. *aerigfueræ*, Ep. *bearug*) and in the oldest monuments of the other Germanic languages. But the rarity of *-a-* in the other dialects makes this hypothesis somewhat improbable.

#### 4. THE TREATMENT OF GERMANIC *-w-*.

I. After short (open) syllables. According† to Sievers (§ 73) an *-u-* arose before the *-w-* forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel; hence *-ēaw-*, *-ēow-*, *-īow-*, W. Sax. *-īew-*, *-īw-*. The words which show diphthongs of this kind obviously fall into two classes.:

A. Words corresponding to words which contain a diphthong in Old High German and Old Saxon, and to words which contain *-gg(w)-* in Gothic and Scandinavian‡. Only those forms which occur in the early texts are given.

1. O.N. *hoggua*, O.H.G. *houwan*.

W. Sax. *heawan* (Oros.), *heawað* (C.P.), 3 sg. *hiewð* (C.P.), *heaven*. Perhaps also Cp. 507 *onheawas*, Ef. 262 *heardhewi*, Cp. *-heau* Leid. *haerdhaeu* belong here.

2. O.N. *dogg*, O.H.G. *tou*.

Cp. 1752 *deawe*, Ps. *deaw*.

3. G. *glaggwuba*, O.N. *glogggr*, O.H.G. *glouwēr*.

Cp. 1728 *gleu* 203 *gleaunisse*; Ps. *gleawne* (Acc. sg.), *gleawnisse*; W. Sax. *gleaw*, *gleawmod*, *ungleawlice* (all in C.P.), *gleawast* (Oros.).

4. M.H.G. *nouwe*, cf. O.N. *hnoggua* (Noreen. Urg. Lautl. § 45. II. 1).

W. Sax. *hneaw hneawnes* (C.P.).

† In the new edition (Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 73) Sievers has abandoned this theory in reference to the forms in B. He apparently does not discuss the A forms in either edition (cf. § 63).

‡ The Germanic form of these words is usually given as *-a<sup>w</sup>wa<sup>w</sup>-*.

5. O.H.G. *scowwōn*. Cf. G. *skuggwa* (but cf. Kögel P.B.B. IX. 525).

Ps. *sceawiu*, *sceawað* etc. (but *scewað* 93, 9); W. Sax. *sceawi(ge)an* (C.P. Oros.), *sceawung* (Oros.).

6. O.H.G. *sou*, N. Icel. *söggr*, *saggi*.

Bede C. (glosses) *sea*.

7. G. *triggws*, *triggwa*, O.N. *tryggr*, O.H.G. *gitriuwi*.

Ep. 726, *treule* : *snis* Ef. *treulesnis*, Cp. 1533, *treuleasnis*, Ep. 436, *gitreeudae*, Ef. *getr(e)udæ*, Cp. 900, *getreuwade*, Cp. 857, *getriowad*; Ps. *getreowe* etc., *getreowlice* (2, 3), *getreowlice* (11. 6), *getreowu* etc., *getreowdun*; W. Sax. *treowa* (C.P. Oros.), *getreow* (C.P.), *treowleas* (C.P.) etc., *triewe* (Oros.), *-triewan* etc. (C.P. Oros.), *getriewde* etc. (Oros.).

8. O.N. *hryggua*, O.H.G. *riuwan*.

W. Sax. *hreow* (C.P. Oros.), *-hreowlice* etc. (C.P. Oros.), *hreowan* (C.P.), *hriwð* (C.P.), *hreowsian* etc. (C.P. Oros.); Ps. *hreowsade*.

9. Possibly also Ep. 649 *screuua*, Cp. 1344 *screauua* : O.N. *skerqgr*.

Diphthongisation is therefore universal and may have taken place very early, though in the absence of forms with *i*-umlaut there is no conclusive evidence. (Cf. Noreen Urg. Lautl. § 45 and the literature there cited; Streitberg, Urg. Gr. § 74.) The only point which requires notice is that *-w* appears to be lost before consonants in the glossaries (but cf. Cp. *gleaunisse*), while in West Saxon it is preserved. So also with regard to the loss of *-w* in *sea*; possibly Cp. *gleu* is for *\*glea*.

B. Words in which there is no evidence for early gemination of *-w-* in the continental languages :

*a.* The corresponding words in the other Germanic languages have intervocalic *-w-*.

The following show diphthongisation :

1. G. *fawai*, O.N. *fár*, pl. *fáir*.

Ps. N. pl. *fea*, D. pl. *feam*; *feastan*, *feanisse*. W. Sax. Acc. pl. *fea* (Chron. A 530, the original reading), N.A. pl.

*feawe, feawa*, D. pl. *feawum* (all in C.P. Oros.), *feaum, feam* (both in C.P.).

2. O. Sax. *thau*, O.H.G. *kathau*†.

W. Sax. *þeaw, þeawas* etc. (C.P.).

3. Urn. *frawaraðaR* (Möjebro), O. Sax. *frao*, O.H.G. *frawēr*, O.N. *frár*.

Probably Ps. *frea-berht*, L.V. *fre-helm*.

4. O.H.G. *ou*, G. *awistr*, cf. *awepi*.

Chart. 41 (Kent.) G. pl. *eawa*; Ps. (Acc. sg. etc.) *eowde*, D. pl. *eowdum*; Cp. 1274 *eouuistras*.

5. O.H.G. *gistreuii, gistrouwi*, cf. *strao*. O.N. *strá*.

Ep. 973, *-streo* Ef. *-streu*, Cp. *-streo*, Cp. 13 *-streo* (West Saxon also *strēaw* <\**strawa*- cf. Sievers § 250 n. 2).

6. Urn. *þewaR*, G. *þius* etc.

Ps. N.A. sg. *ðeow* (7), *ðiow* (11), *ðeo* (1); G. sg. etc. *ðiowes, ðeowes* etc. (D. sg. *ðieowe* once); *ðeowdome* etc.; *ðeowiað, ðiowiað*; pret. *ðiowedun* (1), *ðeowdun* (1), *ðeawde* (1); conj. *ðiowien* (1), *ðiwigen* (1); *ðiowincelu*. Chart 37. *ðiow, ðiowas*; 41 *ðiowe*; (both Kentish).

7. O. Sax. *beo* (G. pl. *bewo*).

‡Ep. 645 *beouuas*, Ef. *beouaes*, Cp. *beowes*, Leid. *bueues*.

8. G. *kniwa* (N.A. pl.) O.N. *kné* etc.

Ep. 879 *cnioholaen*, Ef. *cniolen*, Cp. *cnioholaen*, Leid. *cneholen*; Ps. (N.A. pl.) *cneow*; W. Sax. (Acc. sg.) *cneow* (Oros.), D. sg. *cneowe* (Oros.), N.A. pl. *cneowu* (C.P.) D. pl. *cneowum* (Oros.).

9. G. (D. pl.) *triwam*, O.N. *tré* etc.

Ep. 36 *-trea* (? for *-treu*), Ef. *-treu*, Cp. (117), *-treo*, Cp. 1598 *-treu*, 488 *-treo*, 150 (pl.) *-treu*, 279 *treuteru*; Blickling gloss. (N.A. pl.) *-tri(o)w*; Ps. (N.A. sg.), *treow* (1), *trew* (1),

† This example belongs to A. according to Kögel P.B.B. ix. 525.

‡ It is on account of the Old Saxon forms that I have included this word here. It is difficult however to separate it from O.N. *bygg* (D. sg. *byggvi*; c.f. *Byggvir*). Possibly the Old Saxon word has undergone a change of inflection on the analogy of *treo, kneo* (*trio, knio*) etc. In that case the Old English forms should be transferred to A. L.V. *biu(u)ulf* is probably to be connected with these words.

*treo* (1), N.A. pl. *treow* (1), *trew* (4), *treo* (2), D. sg. *treo* (2), G. sg. *tres* (1), G. pl. *trea* (2), *treo-wyrm*; Ct. 1 (E. Sax.) *triow*, 29 (Saxon-Kentish) *trio*, 59 (Middlesex), *treo* (all N.A. sg. or pl.), 48 (Merc.) *feower treowe hyl*; W. Sax. N.A. sg. *treow* (C.P.), N.A. pl. *treowu* (C.P. Oros.), G. sg. *treowes* (C.P.), D. sg. *treowe* (C.P.), D. pl. *treowum* (Oros.).

10. O.N. *hé-rað*, O. Swed. *hǣ-raþ* (cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 21).

Bede M. *heuuald* (v. 1, 10), L.V. *heouald*, *hegaer*; perhaps also Ps. *heo-redas* but cf. p. 50.

11. Urn. (Gallehus) *hlewaʒastiR* etc.

L.V. *hleo-berct*, *hleo-frith* etc.

12. Urn. (Tune) *wiwaR*.

Bede M. *os-uiu* (5 times as N. sg., also once in the list of kings at the end). L.V. *-uio* (5), Geneal. *osuiō*, *osuing*; Bewc. *oswiuīng*; W. Sax. Chron. A. *osweo* (3), *-wio* (2), 716 *alweo*, *alweoing* (but cf. Geneal. l. 98).

13. O.H.G. pret. *siuita* etc.

Ep. Ef. 796, 886 *-siuuid*, Cp. 1591 *-siowid*, 1763 *-siouuid*; Ep. 699 *-siuuidi*, Ef. *-siuuisidi*, Cp. 1450 *-siudi*, Cp. 68, *-siuwide*, 1374 *-siuwid*, 1774 *siowid*, 1773 *siouu*.

14. G. *hiwi* etc.

Cp. N. sg. 188 *hio*; Ps. N.A. sg. *hiow* (3), *heow* (1), G. *hiowes*, D. *hiowe*, *hiowian*, etc. (*hiewade* 32. 15); W. Sax. *hiew* (C.P.), *híw* (H.), *hiow* (C), *hiewes* (C.), *hiwes* (H), *hiewe* (C.P.), *hiwe* (H).

15. Perhaps: O.N. *lér*, O. Swed. *lār* (<\**lawiz*-? otherwise explained by Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 132, and Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 65).

Lor. Gloss. 10 *leower*.

In the following cases forms with diphthongisation are found beside forms with *-w-*.

16. O.H.G. *drōa*, *drawa* etc.

Ps. N. sg., N.A. pl. *ðrea*, D. pl. *ðream*; *ðregu*, *ðreað*, *ðreade* etc., *ðreange*; Cp. 180 *þreade*; W. Sax. *ðreagean*, *ðreað* etc. (C.P.).



Ep. 53 *thrauu*, Ef. *trafu*, Cp. *thrauuo*.

17. O.H.G. *clōa*, *clawa* (*clāwa* according to Braune § 208, Anm. 5).

Ps. Acc. pl. *clea*.

Ep. 29 *clauuo* Ef. Cp. *clauuo*. Cp. 1842 *clawe*.

The following have forms with *-w-* only.

18. G. *straujan*, *strawida*; O.H.G. *streuuen*, *strouuen*.

W. Sax. *strewede* (C.P.); for Ef. *streida* etc., cf. p. 121 n.

19. O.H.G. *gisewan*.

W. Sax. *gesewen* (C.P. Oros.).

20. O.H.G. *gispiwan*.

W. Sax. *utaspriwen* (H.).

21. O.H.G. *bisiwan* : *sīhan*.

W. Sax. *siwen-igge* (C.P.).

22. Chart. 40 (Kentish) *ðiwen* may be compared with G. *þiwi* etc.

β. Corresponding forms with *-w-* are wanting in the other Germanic languages. The following show diphthongisation :

1. O.N. *ey*, O.H.G. *ouwa*.

Bede N. sg. *eu* (very frequent in all MSS. especially M. In B. it is usually corrected to *ig* by the second hand). The D. sg. *e* (IV. 3), *æi* (v. 19) and the forms of the other dialects, viz. Ct. 33, D. sg. *egi*, 45 *ege* (both Kentish), W. Sax. D. sg. *ige* (H. Chron.), *ige* (H.), *iege*, *igge*, *eigge*, *eige* (Chron.), *iegbuend* (C.P.), *igland* (Oros.)—show a different stem. Bede M. (N. sg.) *ei* (IV. 6) is perhaps a Southern form.

2. G. *niujs*, O.N. *nýr* (<\**niuja-*), O.H.G. *niuwi*.

Ps. *neowe*, *niowe*; *neowne*, *niowne*; *geedneowað* etc.; Bede C. gloss. 87, *neowre*; W. Sax. *niwe*, *niwu*, *niwa* (Oros.), *niwan* (H. Oros.), *niewan* (C), *niwne* (H.), *geedniwað* (C.P.), *geedniwað* (H.), *niwlice* (Oros.); for *nicealt* (Oros.) cf. Cosijn, I. p. 58.

3. O.N. *glý* (<\**gliuja-*).

Ep. 398. *gliu*, Ef. *gliu*, Cp. *glio*, Ep. 550 *gliuuae*, Ef. *gluuiæ*, Cp. *gliowe*, Cp. 948 *gliu*, 354 *glio*. The correspond-

ing W. Sax. forms are D. sg. *gligge* (C), *glige* (H), *gliman*, *gligman*, *gligman* (C.P.).

4. O.H.G. *kliuwa*.

Ep. 472. *cleouuae*, Ef. *cleuuae*, Cp. *clouue*; cf. W. Sax. *cliwen-* (C.P.), *chiewen-* (H.).

5. Cp. 561, 2091 *mundleu*, Ef. 1055 *munleuu* (Ep. *mundl.:*). Cf. O.N. *mundlaug*?

6. Ps. *oteawu* (3), *-eawe* (1), *-earweð* (1), *odeawes* (1), *oteaw* (6), pret. *-eawde* etc. (5), *oteowu* (1), *oteowdun* (1); W. Sax. (Cosijn, I. § 100) *-iewan* (H. 2, C. 4), *-iewanne* (H. 1), *-ieweð* (H. 1, C. 1), *-iewð* (H. 2, C. 2), pl. *-iewað* (H. 3, C. 1), *-iwað* (C. 1), Conj. *-iewe*, *-iewen* (H. 7, C. 7), pret. *iewde* etc. (H. 3, C. 6, Chron. 4), *-iede* (H. 2), past ptcple, *-iewd-* (H. 2, C. 1), *-iewed* (Oros. 3); Infin. *-eowan* (C. 1), *-iowan* (H. 2), *-eowian* (H. 6, C. 1), 3 sg. *-eoweð* (H. 1), *-iowað* (C. 1), *-eowað* (H. 3, C. 1), pl. *eowiað* (H. 3), Conj. *-eowi(g)e*, *-eowi(g)en* (H. 2, C. 3), pret. *-eowde* (H. 2, C. 1), past ptcple *-eowad*, (H. 1). C. has the participle *-eawde* once, and Orosius has the participle *-ewed* once and the preterite *-ewde* twice. Cf. Noreen Urg. Lautl. pp. 29, 179; Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 74.

7. Geneal. l. 104, *cynreou*, *cynreowing*; L.V. l. 170, *riuualch*, 211 *riuuala*, cf. Sievers (P.B.B. xviii. 414).

8. Geneal. ll. 98, 101 *eowa* (2), *eowing* (2); W. Sax. Chron. 716, 755, *eawa* (2), *eawing* (2).

9. Bede II. 5, III. 23 *caelin*, II. 5 *caulin* (given as a West Saxon form); L.V. l. 222 *celin*; W. Sax. Chron. *caulin* (6), *ceawlin* (10), Sax. Geneal. (O.E.T. p. 179), l. 5, 6 *caulning*, *caul(i)n*. Cf. L.V. l. 201 *caua*.

10. W. Sax. Chron. 577, *gleawanceaster* (<Lat. *gleuum*, cf. W. *caergleu*).

To the above might be added the numeral *fewer* and certain preterite forms, e.g. Ps. *cneow*, *seowun*; but since their history is still in many points obscure, they are better omitted.

The following show forms with *-w-*:—

11. Ep. 29, *auuel*, Ef. *auuel*, Cp. 211 *awel*, Cp. 929 *awel*, 2047 *auuel*, cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 63.

12. Ef. 305, *couel*, Cp. *cauuel*, Ef. 1172 *couel*. Probably a Keltic loan-word, cf. W. *cawell*.

No satisfactory explanation of the absence of diphthongisation in the forms  $\alpha$ . 16—22,  $\beta$ . 11, 12 has yet been offered, and until such is found it must be assumed provisionally that there was no general law requiring diphthongisation after short vowels before antevocalic *-w-*. It remains to be seen whether the forms which show diphthongisation can be accounted for on any other hypothesis. Now one feature of this list is the large proportion of words in which one or more forms show syncope after *-w-*; among nouns usually in the N. Acc. sg., among verbs in the 2, 3 sg. pres. (West Saxon), in the weak preterite etc. In regard to the syncope forms there is a difference between the West Saxon texts on the one hand and the glossaries and Northumbrian texts on the other. The former regularly keep *-w-*, the latter lose it†: e.g. W. Sax. *þeaw*, *ðeow*, *cneow*, *treow*, *hiew*, *ðeowdom*, *ceawlin*, *-iewde*, *eowde*, *niwlice*; Ep. *-trea*, *-streo*, *gliu*; Cp. *treo*, *hio*, *streo*, *glio*, *-leu*, *cneo-*, *treu-*, *siudi* (cf. N.A. pl. *treo*: W. Sax. *treowu*); North, *-uiu*, *eu*, *fre-helm*, *hleu-*, *riu-*, *caelin*. The evidence of the Psalter is less consistent. On the one hand, as in West Saxon, we have *heow*, *ðeowdom*, *eowde* (substantive), *eawde*—*eowde* (pret.), *cnew* (pl.)—on the other hand *fea*, *clea*, *ðrea*, *freaberht*, *feanisse*, *treowyrn*, while there is variation in *ðeow*—*ðeo*, and *treow*—*trew*—*treo* (sing. and pl.).

Of all these forms those which show loss of *-u* admit of an explanation most readily, e.g. Ps. N. sg. *ðrea*, Ps. Cp. N. A. pl. *treo*. The parallel forms Cp. *thrawuo* Ps. *ðrea* are most easily explained by supposing (with Sievers § 173, 1) that *-w-* was regularly lost before *-u-*, contraction subsequently taking place. The regular result would be N. sg. *\*þræa* (*ðrea*) beside A. G. D. sg. *\*þrawæ*. Then in the dialect of the Glossaries *þrawu* has been restored through the influence of

† At least there is no evidence to the contrary, though the phonetic value of some of the forms, especially in Epinal, is of course doubtful.



\**prawæ*, while in the dialect of the Psalter the oblique cases have been remodelled on the analogy of \**prāa* e.g. N. A. pl. *ðrea* (perhaps through an intermediate \**prāa-a*). The same explanation will hold good for Ps. N. A. pl. *clea* beside Cp. *clawuo* (D. sg. *clawe*). So also N. A. pl. Ps. *fea* (also found in the Chronicle cf. p. 38) < \**fawu*, either originally a neuter form or else based on *feolu* (cf. W. Sax. *feawa* beside *fela*). So likewise Cp. Ps. N. A. pl. *treo* may represent an earlier \**tre(w)u*. W. Sax. *treowu* etc. must be new formations on any hypothesis—at least if the first syllable is long (cf. Sievers, § 73. 1, 250. 2)†—for the consistent syncope of *-i* (e.g. in *hiew*, *ætiewde*) seems to show that the diphthongisation or at any rate the lengthening of the first syllable took place prior to the syncope of *-i* (which was earlier than the syncope of *-u* cf. p. 65). Such forms as N. sg. *eowu* (Germ. \**awi-z*) point to the same conclusion. The loss of *-w-* before *-u-* is further confirmed by forms like D. pl. *feam* which occur even in the early W. Sax. texts.

Diphthongisation with syncope of final *-a* after *-w-* is found in the forms *α*, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12 above. According to Sievers (§ 174. 1) the regular forms are (N. A. sg.) *cnēo*, *ðēo* etc. arising through vocalisation of *-w-* (consequent upon the syncope of final *-a*) and contraction, precisely as in Goth. *þius*, O.H.G. *kneo*; while in *cnēow*, *ðēow* *-w* is due to the analogy of the inflected forms. This explanation is made the more probable by the prevalence in the Psalter and West Saxon of forms like (N. A. sg.) *snaw* (cf. p. 49 f.). For the Psalter indeed it may be regarded as practically certain since *treo*, *ðeo* can scarcely be new formations; and this raises a presumption for the same being true in West Saxon also, though forms without *-w* do not occur here in the earliest texts. But this explanation of the N. A. sg. *ðeo*, *treo* etc. renders unnecessary the assumption that diphthongisation took place regularly in the G. sg. *treowes* etc.‡ For just as

† Cosijn, *Addenda* p. 202 f., apparently considers it to be short, but the absence of forms with *-ew-* is against the supposition that the original inflexion was kept so long.

‡ Sievers now (Gr.<sup>3</sup> § 73. 2) reads *trēowes* etc. and takes *-ēow-* to be the



in the Psalter and in West Saxon *-w* has made its way from the inflected cases (G. D. sg. etc.) into the N. A. sg., so likewise in West Saxon the diphthong of the N. A. sg. may have made its way into the inflected cases, e.g. *trēo-wes* (*\*treu-wæs*) for *\*tre-wes*, through the influence of *trēo* (*treu*). Ps. G. sg. *ðeowes* etc. are to be explained in the same manner. Ps. D. sg. *treo* seems to be a new formation on somewhat different lines; probably it represents an earlier *\*treu-æ* from N. A. sg. *\*treu* (cf. N. A. pl. *ðrea*, *clea* above). The G. pl. *trea* may have arisen at an early period from the (still uncontracted) N. A. pl. *\*tre-u*, D. pl. *\*tre-um*. The G. sg. *tres* is more difficult; it may come from the G. pl. *trea* or possibly it may be due to confusion between *trēo* and *strēo*. In the Psalter therefore the workings of analogy have levelled out the inflexion of *wa-*, *wō-* stems in two different directions: on the one hand we have *ðeowes*, *ðeowas* etc. with *-w-* preserved and infection of the vocalism from the N. A. sg., on the other we have in *clea*, *ðrea*, *treo* an inflexion without *-w-* proceeding directly from the N. (A.) sg.

Since the distinction in respect to the loss or retention of *-w-* between the West Saxon texts on the one side, and the glossaries together with the Northumbrian texts on the other, holds good also for the syncope of *-a-* at the end of the first member of a compound—the evidence of the Psalter being here also inconsistent—we might suspect that the variation was due to the same causes (cf.  $\alpha$ . 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11,  $\beta$ . 9). Yet the words of Bede II. 5 (*Caelin rex Occidentalium Saxonum qui lingua eorum Ceawlin uocabatur*) point to a dialectical difference (cf. Sievers, P.B.B. IX. 299), and as the word is quite isolated, any influence from an uncompounded form is unlikely. W. Sax. *ceawlin*, *ðeowdom* etc. may come from *\*kaw-*, *\*pew-* with diphthongisation before *-w-* at the end of a syllable. It is to be remembered that (as in Gothic)

regular representative of Germ. *-ew-* before vowels. I can not accept this theory as *gesewen* remains as before unexplained; for that it contains *-e<sup>2</sup>-* (*i*-umlaut) as Sievers suggests (§ 73. Anm. 1.) seems to me in the highest degree improbable; *gesawen* does not occur at all in early texts. If Sievers' theory were right we should also expect *-ĕaw-*.

the syncope of *-a-* in this position took place later than in an absolutely final syllable (cf. p. 77 f.). Whether the development in Northumbrian and in the dialect of the glossaries took place as in West Saxon, but with subsequent loss of *-w-*, is uncertain. There appears to be a loss of *-w-* in a similar position in Ep. *treule : snis* etc. (cf. p. 38), but on the other hand *-w-* is retained in Cp. *gleaunisse*. In the Psalter the regular forms are probably those without *-w-*, *ðeowdome* etc. being due to the influence of the uncompounded form.

The greatest importance attaches to those forms which show syncope of *-i-*, viz.  $\alpha$ . 4, 5, 13, 14, 15,  $\beta$ . 1, 3, 6 and perhaps 5, 7; for this syncope can not be regular unless the preceding syllable had previously undergone lengthening. Now with the exception of  $\alpha$ . 4, 15 and possibly the doubtful  $\beta$ . 5, 7 these forms all belong to nominal or verbal stems which originally had forms with *-ja-* or *-jō-* beside forms with *-i-*, the latter being partly of Indogermanic and partly perhaps of later origin (cf. p. 75 f.). Such *ja-* (*jō-*) forms are found in Ps. *heg* (: Goth. D. sg. *hauja*), W. Sax. D. sg. *iege* etc. (: O.N.G. sg. *eyjar*), *glige* (: O.N. *glý*), *gliiman*, *nicealt*, Ps. *cegan* etc. (cf. p. 55), Bede *el-ge* etc. (cf. p. 55), Cp. 175 *twigendi*, Lind. Conj. *getwiga* (: O.N. *týja*, cf. Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 76). It is evident that—whether one takes Ps. *heow*, *heg* as compared with Goth. *hiwi*, *hawī*, or North. *eu* as compared with W. Sax. *ieg*—the irregularities in the inflexion of these stems have been levelled out by analogy in different directions. *heg*, *ieg* may without difficulty come from the oblique cases; on the other hand the forms with *-w-* must come from the N.(A.) sg. This does not however necessitate our assuming spontaneous gemination of *-w-* in *\*hiwi*, *\*awi* (*\*æwi*), cf. Sievers, § 73. 2†. There is the following alternative: through the influence of *\*hi-wi* the G. sg. *\*hiu-jæs* etc. may have been transformed to *\*hi-wjæs* whence regularly *\*hiwwæs* > *\*hiuwæs*‡. In the same way the N. sg. *\*awi*

† Sievers appears to have subsequently modified his opinion on this question, cf. P.B.B. xx. 508, note.

‡ Gemination of *-w-* before *-j-* is disregarded by Sievers § 226 ff. (cf. § 250 n. 3), but there seems to be no reason for doubting that such a change

(cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 62) may have brought about a transformation of the A.G.D. sg. \**au-jō-* (W.S. *īege*) to \**æ-wjæ* (> \**e<sup>2</sup>wwæ*). Then by reaction from the oblique cases the double consonant thus arising before *-j-* may have been introduced into the N.A. sg. \**hiwwi*, N. sg. \**e<sup>2</sup>wwi* (or perhaps \**e<sup>2</sup>wwu* after *sibbæ* : \**sibbu* etc., cf. p. 74 f.), whence after diphthongisation and syncope of *-i* (*-u*) arose *hiu(w)*, *eu(w)*. The other words of the same type, Cp. *streo*, *glio*, probably *leu* etc., may be explained in the same way, the absence of *-w* being due probably to the same causes as its disappearance on the loss of interior *-a-* (cf. p. 45 f.). The irregularities of the W. Sax. verb *æt-īewan* seem to admit of a somewhat similar explanation. We have probably to start from Infin. \**-aujan-*, 3 sg. \**-awiþ(i)* etc. Then contamination between the two stems produced on the one side a 3 sg. \**-auwiþ*, (whence *-īewþ*), on the other an Infin. \**-aujan* (whence ultimately *-ēowan*). The Infin. *-īewan* may be due to the 3 sg. *-īew(e)þ*; the Infin. *-ēowian* (and the consequent partial transference to conjugation 2) to the 3 sg. *-eoweð* (a contamination of \**-e<sup>2</sup>wiþ* and *-ēowan*) on the analogy of *nerēð* : *nerian*. With this is to be compared the verb *strēowian* which has preserved the regular preterite *strewede*. In the Psalter the unumlauted forms (1 sg. *-earwu* etc.) are an additional and serious difficulty. If the possibility that diphthongs did not undergo *i*-umlaut before immediately following *-j-* (cf. p. 83) be left out of account, the unumlauted forms must apparently come from 3 sg. \**e<sup>2</sup>wwēð*

could take place. It is true that the type *-a<sup>x</sup>wja<sup>x</sup>-* seems to have given way in Germanic (cf. Kluge, P.G. I. p. 356) or at least in Gothic, Scandinavian and English, to the type *-a<sup>x</sup>u-ja-* (cf. Goth. \**niuja-* beside Sk. \**navya-*), but since the first type is phonetically possible, it may have been restored at any time by analogy whenever (as here) words of the type *-a<sup>x</sup>u-ja<sup>x</sup>-* had come to stand in close relationship with words of the type *-a<sup>x</sup>-wa<sup>x</sup>-*. That the original type *-a<sup>x</sup>-wja<sup>x</sup>-* was regularly preserved in English (cf. Kögel, P.B.B. IX. 533 ff.) I do not believe; for in that case *hæg*, *īeg* etc. are inexplicable (cf. van Helten, P.B.B. XVI. 229 ff., XX. 507). The type *-a<sup>x</sup>-wja<sup>x</sup>-* appears to have been restored occasionally also in East Germanic (cf. Goth. *usskawjaindau* etc.).

The impossibility of Kögel's proposed *hæg*, *strēgið* (with *g=j<-w-*) is shown by such forms as *strewede*, *ðiwēn* (p. 41).



(: W. Sax. *eoweð*) on the analogy of strong verbs; the unumlauted 3 sg. *-eaweð* etc. are doubtless late and to be compared with *falleð, haldeð* etc. The W. Sax. pret. *iewde*, participle *-iewed, -iewd-* are formations like the 3 sg. *-iewþ*; Cp. *-siowid, -siudi* are exactly parallel.

In the W. Sax. forms (N. sg.) *eowu* (cf. Sievers, § 258, n. 2.), *þeowu* (cf. *wealhþeow*) the addition of *-u* is probably late and to be compared with the similar phenomenon in N. A. pl. *cneowu, treowu*. The most reasonable explanation of the first word (Germ. *\*awi-z*) is that it passed early into the inflexion of *jō*-stems; hence G. sg. *ēowe* (cf. G. pl. *eawa*, p. 39) < *\*e<sup>2</sup>wwæ*. Cp. *eowuistras* may have *eo-* (< *\*e<sup>2</sup>wwi-*) in place of *\*ewi-* through the influence of the uncompounded form. The syncope in Ps. A.G. sg. *eowde* (beside G. sg. *eowdes*) is difficult to explain, but the formation of the word and the exact nature of its relationship to O.H.G. *ewit*, G. *awepi* are not quite clear. It is not impossible that here also the uncompounded form may have had some influence. The other form *leower* (a. 15) is so obscure that it can scarcely count in this discussion.

There is one word which is free from syncope in the N. sg. viz. *niowe, neowe, niwe* etc. Ps. N. sg. *neowe* may be due to a contamination of the original form *\*niwi* (< *\*niuja-*) through the G. sg. *\*niuwæs* (*neowes*) for *\*niujæs* (cf. *heowes* p. 46). The change is of the same nature as that in *hiu* etc. but took place later (subsequent to the syncope of *-i*). The stem *\*niow-* has also spread to the denominative verb. W. Sax. *niwe* etc. may be explained on the same hypothesis, but the rarity of forms with *-ie-* seems to point to a partial retention of *nīwi*.

Lastly Ep. *cleouuae* etc. (β. 4) demand consideration. These forms probably have *-eo-* for *-iu-*, a confusion not unknown in the glossaries (cf. Sievers, P.B.B. XVIII. p. 414). The word may therefore be equated exactly with O.H.G. *kliuwa*. The appearance of *-iww-* (< *-iww-*) in place of *-iuj-* may be due to confusion between the stems *\*kliujōn-* and *\*kliwīna-*; and the vocalism of W. Sax. *cliewen* may be due to the same cause.



To sum up briefly the results of the discussion we find that there is no evidence in the earliest texts to necessitate our believing that diphthongisation took place before intervocalic *-w-*. The various examples may all be due either to contraction through the loss of *-w-* before *-u-*, or to the results of syncope, or to gemination of *-w-* before *-j-*. In regard to such forms as *meowle* which occur in the later texts, it is preferable to assume that the diphthongisation is due to irregular syncope of *-i-* (as in *betra* etc.). Ps. *ewde* (cf. p. 48 above) is possibly to be explained in the same way.

## II. After long vowels.

The same distinction which has been observed above between the West Saxon texts on the one hand and the Glossaries together with the Northumbrian texts on the other exists to some extent here also, the former tending to preserve final *-w*, the latter to reject it.

In the early W. Sax. texts we find the following forms with *-w*: *spaw* preterite (H.), *row*, *rów* (C.P.), *snawgebland* (Oros.), *stow* (Oros.), *aw* (once in C.); on the other hand *-w* is lost in: *a*, *á*, *na*, *ná* (all in C.P. Oros.), *sæ*, *sé* (Oros. H.), *æ*, *é* (C.P. Oros. frequent), *hi-red* (H. 3), *hio-red* (C. 2), *hie-red* (H. 2, C. 2, Oros. 2). In the glossaries we find Ep. 529. *a*, 200 *lytesna*, 663. *tiig* (: O.N. *Týr* < \**tīwa-z*), 767. *briig* (: O.H.G. *brīo*), 1015. *sli* (: O.H.G. *slīo*)—Erfurt and Corpus showing the same forms in every case—probably also Cp. 986. *gig* (beside *giw* in later texts; cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 203); on the other hand with *-w* we find Cp. *stou* (2, 540)†. Among the Northumbrian texts the Alphabet

† Certain forms whose history is obscure are omitted from the above list: (1) Ep. 1005 Ef. Cp. *iuu* is probably, in accordance with the general orthography of the glossaries, to be read *īwu*—a new formation to be compared with Ep. *thrauu*. The same variation which exists between this form, W. Sax. *īw* and the form *ih* in the Alphabet (*coh* in the Runic poem) is found also in the other Germanic languages (O.N. *ýr*, O.H.G. *īwa*, *īgo*, *īha*, O.L.G. *ich* etc., cf. Kluge, Wb.<sup>5</sup> p. 84, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 74). The treatment of intervocalic *-χw-* is not yet satisfactorily made out; but in the meantime the assumption of double stems \**īχ(w)-*, \**īw-* seems to me less probable than that all these forms may come directly or indirectly from a Germ. \**īχwi-z*. (2) For Ef. 610 *meu* (Ep. *men*), Cp. *meau*, Cp. 135 *meau*, 955 *me(a)u* beside

has *ti* (= Ep. *tiig*), Bede has *tio-wulfinga* (II. 16), L.V. has *tiuwald* (l. 207), *tiowald* (l. 334), *snahard* (l. 346), *saeuald*, *saered*, *saegyth* etc. The glosses in Bede C. have *hra* (: O.H.G. *rēo*). The Psalter has *snaw*, *stow* and *ġew* (once) against *ae* (frequent—also *æe*, *aee*), *sae* (*sæ*), *a*, *na*; *heoredas* also probably belongs here (: G. *heiwa-*, O.H.G. *hīwo* etc. cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 184, Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 21)†.

The presence of the form *ā* (: Goth. *aiw*) in West Saxon as well as in the other dialects seems to show that *-w* which became final through the syncope of final *-a* was regularly lost in all dialects alike, and that in W. Sax. *spaw* etc. *-w* has been re-introduced from forms in which no syncope had taken place (cf. Sievers, § 174. 3). There is no reason for supposing that the treatment of final *-wa* in English differed in principle from its treatment in other Germanic languages. In Old High German *-w-* became vocalic upon the syncope of *-a* (hence *hlēo*, *grāo* etc.) and subsequently disappeared. The same vocalisation has probably taken place in Goth. *aiw*, *lew*, *gaidw* etc. That the same development took place in English is made probable not only by the fact that the treatment of those stems in which *-w-* was preceded by a short vowel was identical with their treatment in the continental languages (cf. p. 44), but also by the form *gād* (: G. *gaidw*) where the development *\*<sub>3</sub>aiðwa* > *\*<sub>3</sub>ādu* > *<sub>3</sub>ād* appears to be the only one possible‡.

At the end of the first member of a compound the case is different, as appears from North. *tio-*, *tiu-* (beside the uncompounded *ti*) etc. After the syncope of *-a-* (which was

O.H.G. *mēh*, O.N. *már*, double stems *\*maiχwa-*, *\*maiwi-* are likewise assumed (cf. Kluge, Wb.<sup>5</sup> p. 262, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 66). But in view of *sā*, *ā* etc., *meu*, *meau*, must have *-w* restored from the inflected cases on any hypothesis. Here again it seems to me that the evidence for a form without *-χ-* is inconclusive.

† Ps. N. A. pl. *bregas* is omitted because the nature of its relationship to W. Sax. *brāwas* (C.P.) is not quite clear (cf. Kluge, Wb.<sup>5</sup> p. 52). As regards Ep. (473) *grei* etc. Kluge's explanation (Wb.<sup>5</sup> p. 144) is by far the most probable.

‡ *mēd* on the other hand has probably undergone loss of *-w-* before *-u* (cf. p. 43 f.). The regular forms are N. sg. *mēd* G. sg. *mēdwe* (Chart. 42) etc.

later in this position, cf. p. 77 f.) *-w-* was no doubt vocalised, and contraction seems to have subsequently taken place. L.V. *sna-hard*, if it is not due to the influence of the uncompounded *snā*, is probably to be explained by the loss of *-u-* before *-h-* (cf. p. 86); this must have taken place before contraction could set in.

The treatment of final *-wi-* is in Gothic and Old High German identical with that of *-wa-* (e.g. Goth. *saiws*, O.H.G. *sēo* < \**saiwi-z*). *ā*, *sā* may obviously have arisen by the same process, but this does not apply equally well to the compound forms *sae-red* etc. These might indeed in themselves be regarded as new formations from *sā*, but the question 'what happens in the group *-wi-* when *-i-* has undergone syncope?' affects a number of other words. Sievers (§ 173. 2) holds that *-w-* regularly disappeared before *-i-*, a theory which makes forms like W.S. *strewede* etc. (cf. p. 41) very difficult to explain. For this he gives the following examples: i. *ā*, *sā*, *hrā* < \**aiwi-* etc. ii. 3. sg. *gierēð*, *wieleð*, pret. *gierede*, *wieledede*. iii. *pyle* < Lat. *pulvinum*. These series of forms must be examined separately. i. *sā* has no forms with *-w-* in the early texts; some of its forms however (e.g. G. sg. *sæs*) are certainly new. In *ā* also the forms without *-w-* are far the most frequent. In West Saxon C. has N. sg. *æw* once (p. 124) against H. *æ*; while D. sg. *æwe* occurs. C. 174 = H. 175, C. 180 = H. 181, H. 439 against far more frequent *æ* (cf. Cosijn II. p. 38); in the Psalter N. sg. *ǣw* occurs in 18. 8; otherwise the forms without *-w-* are universal. It is obvious that analogy has been at work in these stems; if the loss of *-w* in the N. sg. is regular, its absence in the remaining cases may be due to this. ii. The forms which need discussion in these verbs are: *a.* the Present Indicative 2, 3 sing.; *β.* the Imperative sing.; *γ.* the preterite; *δ.* the past participle. In West Saxon we find: *a.* *-sireð* (H.). *β.* C. *gegierwe* (p. 372) = H. *gegier*. *γ.* *giredon* (Oros.), *gered-on*, *-e* (Oros.), *gierdon* (once in H., cf. Cosijn II. p. 162), *smirede* (C.P.) *-si(e)rede* (C.P. Oros.), *-syred-e*, *-on* (Oros.). In the Psalter: *a.* *-gereð*, *smireð*. *γ.* *gerede(s)*, *herwdun*, *smirede*. *δ.* 1. uninflected form:



-*gered*, *generwed*; 2. inflected forms: -*gered-*, *generwde*. In the glossaries:  $\delta$ . 1. Ep. 730. *gigeruuid* Cp. *gegeruuid*, Cp. 676. *gesmirwid*; 2. Ep. 534. *bismiridae*, Ef. *bismirida*, Cp. *bismiride*. In Northumbrian:  $\gamma$ . Ruthwell -*zereðæ*. Lind. -*smiride*, -*smiredon* (*gearuade* etc. after Conj. II.). A comparison of these forms leads to the following conclusions: in  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  2 the regular form of the stem was *geri(d)-*, *smiri(d)-*, W. Sax. *giere(d)-*, *smiere(d)-*. The only exceptions are Ps. *herwdun*, *generwde*, and these may have their -*w*- from the  $\delta$ . 1. forms \**herwed*, *generwed*; on the other hand *gerede* was kept because there was no -*gerwed*; so also in all probability with *smirede*. In  $\delta$ . 1. the regular type is not quite so obvious. On the one hand we have Ps. -*nerwed*, W. Sax. -*nierwed*, on the other Ps. -*gered*, W. Sax. -*giered*, -*si(e)red*. Yet when the following series are compared: A. Ps. *nearenissum* (< Germ. \**narwa-*): \**nerwan*: -*nerwed*: -*nerwde*; B. Ps. *gearu* (< Germ. stem \**zarwa-*): *gerwende*: -*gered*: -*gerede*, there is a prima facie case for supposing that the inflectional differences between the two series are due to levelling. It has already been suggested that -*nerwde* has taken its -*w*- from -*nerwed*; it seems equally likely that -*gered* has lost its -*w*- on analogy of -*gerede*. In that case the regular uninflected form is preserved in Ep. *gigeruuid*, and the variation seen in Cp. *gesmirwid*: *bismiridae* is also regular and corresponds to the variation in (e.g.) -*droefed*: -*droefde*. This hypothesis is put forward also by Sievers § 408, but it is obviously inconsistent with the theory that -*w*- was lost before -*i*-. In order to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of these verbs it is necessary above all not to lose sight of the corresponding forms in Old High German. The Infin. *gar(a)wen*, pret. (3. pl.) *garotun*, part. -*gar(a)wit*, -*garotēr* may directly represent Germ. \**zarwian-*, \**zarwiðun(p)*, \**zarwið-*. On the other hand O. Sax. pret. *gerwida* must be due to the analogy of the Present and of the uninflected participial form ( $\delta$ . 1.). Now there is obviously no difficulty in equating W. Sax. *gierwan* with O.H.G. *gar(a)wen* or Ep. *gigeruuid* with O.H.G. *gigar(a)wit*; but what English form would regularly correspond to O.H.G.



*garotun* (< \**zarwiðunþ*)? *gearu* corresponds to O.H.G. *garo*, but that does not prove that a form \**gerudun* (W. Sax. \**gierudon*) would regularly correspond to O.H.G. *garotun*, for in the first case the syncopated vowel was *-a-*, in the second it was *-i-*. So far as I can see there is no adequate reason for doubting that *geredun* (< \**zeridun*) may come regularly from Germ. \**zarwiðunþ* and that *-e-* (earlier *-i-*) may represent the vocalisation of palatalised *-w-* which took place consequent upon the regular syncope of *-i-* after a long syllable. iii. As regards the explanation of *-e* < Lat. *-ui-* in *pyle* the difficulty is the same as in *gerede* and may be solved in the same manner. There is nothing therefore to prevent us from supposing that in *sae-red* etc. samprasarana of *-wi-* and consequent contraction have taken place just as in *tio-uald* etc., but that here the *-w-* having previously undergone palatalisation, the result of samprasarana was a palatal vowel which in its earliest stage may be written *y* but which probably underwent delabialisation at a very early date. The un-compounded *sē*, *ā* may likewise be due to contraction. After a consonant final *-y* (*-i*) seems to have been syncopated like *-u*, e.g. perhaps in *Ing* (in the Runic poem) < \**Ingu-i-z* beside *Ingui* (Chron. 547) < \**Ingwia-z*; but in compounds it appears to have been preserved (probably because samprasarana took place later in the case of *-wi-* than in the case of *-wa-*), e.g. Geneal. l. 81 *ingi-brand* (cf. p. 58); L.V. *ingu-burg* represents a different form of the stem †.

The results of the enquiry may be briefly summed up as follows: on the syncope of final *-a* and of *-a-* at the end of the first member of a compound, a preceding *-w-* became

† There is some difficulty in accounting for the retention of *-w-* in the Pres. 2, 3 sg., preterite and participle of weak verbs whose stems end in a long vowel + *-w-*, and in the Pres. 2, 3 sg. of strong verbs of the same type (cf. Sievers § 174. 3). The former class is not frequent and examples of forms without *-w-* are found at least in Northumbrian. The latter class is confined to West Saxon but is common there (cf. Cosijn, II. p. 149); *-w-* is usually kept, though *cnæð* occurs once. In both classes it seems probable that *-w-* has been restored on the analogy of those forms (Infinitive, Conjunctive, etc.) in which it was regularly preserved.

sonantal; in the former case this vowel subsequently disappeared; in the latter it underwent contraction with a preceding long vowel. *-w-* was not lost before *-i-* but became sonantal on the syncope of *-i-*, the result being a palatal (and at first no doubt labial) vowel. Before *-u-* on the other hand *-w-* was no doubt lost as after short syllables (cf. p. 43 f.), being restored in *stōw* etc. from the inflected cases.

### 5. THE LOSS OF INTERVOCALIC *-j-*.

According to Sievers (§ 176) *-j-* "when medial" is preserved "only occasionally between vowels as in *frīgea* beside *frēa*; *frīge* (N. pl. masc.) beside *frēo*; *frēogan*; *cīegan* etc." This list is of course far from complete; several examples of *-j-* preserved have already been mentioned, e.g. D. sg. *glige*, *iege* (p. 46), and in particular it should be noticed that *-j-* in Germ. *-ōja-* is regularly preserved in verbs of the Second Weak Conjugation. Again one of Sievers' examples of contraction is in all probability to be struck out; *frea* and *frigea* cannot both be the regular equivalents of Goth. *frauja*, unless they belonged originally to different dialects. But there is no evidence for a dialectical difference in the treatment of *-j-*, *freo*—*frige*, *ceð*—*cegan* etc. occurring side by side in the same texts. *frigea* can scarcely come from anything else than a stem *\*fraujan-*, but *frea* is quite capable of being otherwise explained. According to Van Helten (P.B.B. xv. 470 footnote) the Acc. sg. *frēan* comes regularly from *\*fra-un*, the stem being *\*frawan-* (*\*frawon-*, van Helten) whence also O. Sax. *fraho* etc., O.H.G. *frō* (cf. also Kluge, Wb.<sup>5</sup> p. 117). This loss of *-w-* in *u*-stems is supported by *pēa* beside Ep. (826) Ef. Cp. *pauua*, though on the whole I am more inclined to take *frēa* as having been originally an *a*-stem standing in the same relationship to *\*frawan-* (O. Sax. *fraho* etc.) as O.N. *Freyr* to Goth. *frauja*. For the transference to *n*-flexion the case of W. Sax. *ðrēa* may perhaps be compared, though here there has been also a change of gender.

Under what circumstances then was Germ. *-j-* lost? As there is no evidence for any dialectic difference in this respect, the preservation or loss of *-j-* can only depend on the nature of the preceding or following sounds. Now Ps. 3 sg. *-ceð*, pret. *-cede*, part. *-ced* beside 1 sg. *-cegu*, pl. *-cegað*, part. *-cegendum* etc. clearly point to loss of *-j-* before *-i-*—a change which is exactly parallel to the loss of *-w-* before *-u-* (cf. p. 43). In W. Sax. *gecieged* (C.P.) beside *cig(g)ende* on the other hand, the consonant has been restored probably on the analogy of forms like *gebieged*. Another example of this change is afforded by the equivalents of Goth. *gawi* (D. sg. *gauja*). The following forms of this word occur in the oldest texts: N. sg. *elge regio* Bede iv. 19; *in loco qui dicitur limingae* Chart. 5 (Kentish); *in loco qui dicitur liminiaee* (Locative?) Chart. 7; Acc. or D. sg. *ad eastrege* Chart. 36; D. or Loc. sg. *in liminiaee* Chart. 7, *easterege*—*eosterege*—*eostorege*—*eosterge* Chart. 35 (all Kentish); *æt elige* Chron. 673, *on suprige* Chron. 851. Derivatives of the same word occur in: *in regione sudergeona* Bede iv. 6 (M.B.N., *suthriena* C.), *in regione eastrgena* Chart. 18, *suprigea* Chron. 836, 855, *suprigium* Chron. 853. The regular N. sg. *\*ǵe<sup>2</sup>wi* seems to have been displaced by a form *\*ǵāaji* (*\*ǵāqji*) through the influence of the oblique cases (: Goth. *gauja*); the loss of *-j-* which took place regularly in this form, seems to have spread subsequently, in Kentish at least, to the oblique cases; hence D. sg. *-iaeae* (and later *-ge* with contraction) in place of the regular *\*ǵājæ*. West Sax. D. sg. *-ige* seems to point to a retention of *\*ǵīejæ*. The history of Lind *stre*, *stré* (: Cp. *streo*), G. sg. *strees* was probably identical with that of Kentish *-ge*. The combination *-ji-* was probably never original—*ceð*, *-ge*, *stre* having *\*-āaji* for *-æ<sup>1</sup>wi-* (*-e<sup>2</sup>wi-*) through the influence of forms with *\*-āaja-*—but when the forms were established *-j-* seems to have been regularly lost. This loss of *-j-* must have taken place before the syncope of *-i-* after a long syllable; on the other hand in W. Sax. *gecieged*, Ps. *heg -j-* has been preserved or subsequently restored through a repetition of the same process.

The contraction seen in *frēo* (< *\*frijā-*) may likewise be



regarded as a result of the loss of intervocalic *-j-*. This word does not stand alone (cf. below); the forms of the verb *bēon* are especially to be compared. The most remarkable point however in all these words is the history of the diphthong, and this requires notice in a separate section. The preservation of *-j-* in N. pl. *frige* seems to show that the Conjunctive *bio* cannot regularly come from *\*ḍijai*. The Indic. plur. *bioḥ* on the other hand can scarcely be a new formation (cf. p. 57). Possibly the loss of *-j-* after *-i-* took place before back vowels (whether long or short) but not before diphthongs or front vowels (excluding *-i-* of course).

## 6. THE HISTORY OF THE DIPHTHONG IN *frēo* ETC.

Sievers (§ 114. 2) says that contraction of "West Germanic *ī + a* seems to give *ēo*" e.g. *bēot* < *\*bi-hāt*, *dēofol* < Lat. *diabolus*, *frēo* < *\*fri(j)a*, but in § 130 holds that in unaccented syllables "*-o-* has been retained in case of early contraction as in *frīo*, *frēo* st. *\*frijo-*." The two statements are hardly consistent. Forms like *bēot* also must be left out of account in the present discussion, since the contraction there belongs to quite a different period (cf. p. 13). Now assuming that the diphthong in *frēo* has arisen through contraction the difficulty obviously lies in explaining the form of its second member. That at the time when contraction took place Idg. *-o-* was still preserved in unaccented syllables seems to me improbable, since (except possibly before *-m-*) Idg. *-o-* appears everywhere in Germanic as *-a-* is unaccented as well as in accented syllables. The assumption is also unnecessary, for *dēofol* undoubtedly shows a change *-ia-* > *-ēo-* (earlier *-īo-* which is preserved in Cp. 1457 *-diobul*). The oldest form of the diphthong in *frēo* seems indeed to have been *-iu-*, e.g. Leid. 153 *friulactum* (for *-laetum*), L.V. *friumon*, *friubet*; later *-io-*, L.V. *frio-uini*, Cp. 1218, 1224, 2104 *frioleta(n)* parallel to *diobul*. Ps. *frea* (87. 6) beside *freolice* (93. 1) is probably due to that confusion between the diphthongs *eo* (*io*) and *ea* which is not very rare in the Psalter (cf. Zeuner



pp. 23, 50 etc.). In the verb the West Saxon texts have Infin. *freogean* (Oros.), Ind. pl. *freog(e)að* (C.P.), 3 sg. *frioð* (C.P.), pret. *freode* (Oros., Chron.). All these forms may be perfectly regular, coming from \**friuġan* (< \**frijōġan-*), \**frīoþ*, \**frīuþ* (< \**frijōþi*) etc. In the Psalter the 1 sg. *-frigu*, pl. *-frigað*, part. pres. *-frigende*, pret. *friode* regularly correspond to the W. Saxon forms (cf. p. 10); but the pres. 3 sg. *freað*, *friað* seems to represent an earlier \**frī-aþ* transformed through the influence of the forms with *-ġj-*, the original form *freoð* being perhaps preserved in 36. 40. The same remarks apply to W. Sax. *feogan*, Ps. *figað*, *figende*, *fiode*, *fiað*. The pres. pl. *fiað* (34. 19, 96. 10) beside *figað* is perhaps only a graphic variant; but the pret. *fiede*, beside *fiode*, may be due to the analogy of forms like *-nerede*. The substantive W. Sax. N.A. sg. *freond*, N.A. pl. *friend*, Ps. N.A. sg. pl. *freond*, likewise represents an earlier \**frīund-* (: O. Sax. *friund*, O.H.G. *friunt*) < \**frijōnd-*. So also W. Sax. *feond*, *fiend*, Ps. *fiond* (: O. Sax. *fund*) which have probably been influenced by \**frīund-*.

It is further probable especially on account of the forms in the Psalter that the verb *bēon* belongs here. In the W. Saxon texts we find Infin. *beon*, *beonne*, Indic. pl. *beoð*, Conj. *beo*, *beon* and *bion*, *bionne*, *bioð*, *bio*, *bion* (all in C.P., cf. Cosijn, II § 136. 3). The Indic. pl. *biað* occurs in Cp. 180 and in the Leiden Riddle. The Infinitive occurs as *bion* in Chart. 37 and as *bian* in Chart. 41 (both Kentish). The glosses to Bede C. have Indic. pl. *bioð*. In the Psalter the usual forms are Infin. *bion*, Indic. 1 sg. *beom*, pl. *bioð*, Conj. (?) *bio* (= *esto*); on the other hand we find Indic. pl. *biað* only three times, and *bia* (= *esto*) once, while the 1 sg. *beam* also occurs once. The few forms with *-að* may be due to assimilation to the normal ending of the Indic. pl., or—which is more likely—they may have undergone delabialisation through loss of accent (cf. p. 89); but the verb as a whole remains quite distinct in the Psalter from those verbs which show contraction through the loss of intervocalic *-h-* (cf. p. 15 n.).

A similar diphthong seems to have arisen from contraction of *ī + a* in Ep. 20, 657 *bio-uuyrt*, Ef. 20 *biuyrt*, Cp. 181,

1289 *bio-wyrt*, so also Ps. *bio-bread* (18. 11); on the other hand *bia-bread* (118. 103) and N. pl. *bian* (cf. W. Sax. *beon*) seem to have been affected by some non-diphthongal forms; possibly there was originally an *a-* or *ō-* stem (cf. O.N. *bý*) beside the *n*-stem. Probably also the contraction *i + a* took place also in unaccented syllables; thus L.V. *inguburg* (l. 19) seems to point to an earlier *\*ingwiu-*: Tacitus' *inguiomerus*. This contraction did not take place when *-a* was final, if *ingui* (Chron. 547) represents a Germ. *\*ingwia-z*.

Now, if we are justified in considering *-īu-*, whence later *-īo-*, to be the normal form of the diphthong which arose through contraction of *ī + a*, the change *īa > īu* here exhibited is analogous to the treatment of the Germ. diphthong *au*. The latter seems to have passed through the stage *āū* to *āō*, whence (by delabialisation of the second element) *āa* and later *ēa* (cf. p. 29). So likewise North. N. sg. *ea* < *\*ēu* < *\*æhu*. The change *-āū- > -āō-* is due to assimilation, the second element being lowered to a level with the first, and is probably due to the lengthening of the first member and the consequent loss of stress in the second. Similarly in *frīu*, *\*dīuðul* etc., the second element has been raised to the level of the first.

#### 7. THE VERB W. SAX. *ðreag(e)an*, Ps. *ðregan*.

According to Sievers (§ 416, note 4) "the original inflection of *ðrēagan*...is more clearly perceptible in the Psalter than in W. Saxon." He then refers the forms of the Psalter to groundforms *\*ðraujan*, *\*ðrauju*, *\*ðrauais*, *\*ðrauda* etc. This theory is objectionable because it necessitates the assumption of complicated processes of analogy in W. Sax. *ðrēagan* etc. (in place of the regular *\*ðrīegan*). It is also by no means certain that the verb is to be immediately connected with O.H.G. *drouuen*, *dreuen*; for the latter belongs not to the *ja- : ai-* (*ē-*) class, but to the *ja- : i-* class. The *-ē-* of the Psalter forms may just as well represent *-ā<sup>4</sup>-* (by palatal umlaut) as *-ā<sup>3</sup>-* (by *i*-umlaut). Then Ps. Conj. *ðrege*, part.

*ðregende* etc. will be identical with W. Sax. *ðreage*, *ðreagende*. The verb must then be a denominative like O. Sax. *githrōon* (Gallee, § 46). The original form of the English verb will have been \**prawōja-* (based on \**prawō-*), whence \**pra(w)ujan* > \**prēajan* which was originally common to all dialects. In the Pres. 2, 3 sg. and in the preterite *-awaþ* (Ps. *-eawaþ*) etc. have been displaced by \**-ēa-aþ* etc. (whence *-ēaþ* etc. by contraction) through the influence of the forms with *-ēaj-* (cf. Ps. *freað* etc. p. 57).

This explanation rests of course on the assumption of a stage \**prawuja-*, \**luðuja-* intermediate between \**prawōja-*, \**luðōja-* and *ðrēagan*, *luftan*. The medial *-ō-* in all verbs of this type on its way to *-i-* must have undergone shortening, delabialisation, palatalisation and raising. Both the palatalisation (with the consequent delabialisation) and the raising are probably due to the influence of the following *-j-*, but there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that the raising chronologically preceded the palatalisation. The shortening was perhaps the earliest of all, but this is uncertain, and hardly material.

If this explanation is correct it enables us to date approximately the loss of *-w-* before *-u-*. Ps. *ðrege* etc. show that the diphthong was already established before the operation of palatal umlaut, while on the other hand W. Sax. *ðreagean* etc. show that *i*-umlaut was no longer operative when the diphthong came into existence.

## 8. THE TREATMENT OF GERM. *-a-* BEFORE NASALS.

In the Epinal glossary *-a-* in this position is always (with one exception) represented by *-a-* (cf. p. 108). This however is either an orthographical peculiarity or (more probably) is due to a later and dialectic partial delabialisation of *-a-*; for that the change of *a* > *ā* belonged to a much earlier period is shown by such forms as *toð*, *gos*, *brohte* etc., and especially by *toeð*, *goes* etc., which make it clear that the change of *ā* > *ō* took place before the operation of *i*-umlaut, and consequently



that the change of  $a > \varrho$ , and probably also the loss of the nasal, must be still older.

In connection with this change there are two points which deserve consideration.

i. The treatment of  $-\varrho-$  when affected by  $i$ -umlaut. In the Epinal glossary this sound is represented in the great majority of instances by  $-ae-$ , and similar forms occur also in Erfurt and Corpus, though here they are exceptional (cf. p. 112 ff.). In the remaining early texts  $-e-$  is almost universal. Bede C. however is a notable exception. In this MS.  $-e-$  appears only in the form *penda*; elsewhere  $-ae-$  ( $-e-$ ) is written consistently. Thus I. 15 *haengist*, II. 5 *haengest*, III. 1 *denises*, *denisi*, III. 22 *paente*, *raendles*, *raendili*. In all these cases M. has  $-e-$ . So also in III. 21 *middilengli*, v. 24 *middilaengli*, where N. has  $-engli$  in both cases (so also B. in III. 21), while M. has  $-angli$ . Now, since C. is a later MS. than M., the distinction between them in this respect would seem to be due to a difference of dialect. C. appears to be the work of a Southern scribe†, and the dialect may possibly be identical with that of Epinal. It appears therefore that in certain Southern dialects the  $i$ -umlaut of  $\varrho$  was an  $\text{æ}$ -sound ( $\text{æ}^5$ ) during the eighth century. Yet the peculiarity of these dialects seems to have been merely that they preserved the sound longer than others, for its previous existence in West Saxon is shown by the preservation of  $-\text{æ}-$  (through metathesis of  $-r-$ ) in *ærnan*, *bærnan*. Ps. *bernan*, North. (Lind.) *berna* may also show later developments of the same sound (cf. p. 6). It is not unlikely therefore that  $\text{æ}^5$  was originally a sound common to all dialects. At first this sound must have been labial, as is shown by the labial umlaut in Ps. *fearende*, *tosaecendes* (for *\*to-scaecendes*), and probably in *beorende* etc., but the delabialisation must have taken place

† The orthography has Southern characteristics e.g. the frequent use of *uu-* and the occasional use of *w-* in place of the Northern *u-* ( $=w$ ). So also the glosses in this MS. (published in O.E.T. p. 180 ff.), though written considerably later than the text itself, belong to a Southern (hardly Kentish) dialect which may quite well be a later form of the same dialect which appears in the English words in the text. Plummer (*Baedae Opera Historica*, I. p. xciii f.) has come to a different conclusion.



very early, and except in the dialect of the Psalter has left no traces†.

ii. The change of  $a > o$  was not originally limited to accented syllables. The former existence of  $-o-$  in unaccented syllables is shown by various cases of labial umlaut in the dialect of the Psalter, e.g. *-weafraŋ*, *fearaŋ*, *fearað* from earlier *\*-waβraŋ*, *\*faraŋ*, *\*faraβ* etc.

### 9. THE CHANGE OF $a > œ^1$ .

This change is common to English and Frisian. That it took place at a very early period is shown by the fact that it preceded the palatalisation of Germ.  $k$ ,  $ɣ$  and the operation of  $i$ -umlaut. It has also been suggested (p. 33) that it may have preceded the breaking of Germ.  $-a-$  before  $r$  + consonant. The change is found both in open and in close syllables, but the conditions for its appearance are not all equally clear.

In open syllables the change appears to have taken place when the following syllable originally contained  $-i-$  or  $-j-$ , and certain of the various sounds which are represented in the oldest texts by  $-œ-$  ( $-ae-$ ,  $-e-$ ). In the former case (before  $i$ ,  $j$ ) the change appears to have been universal, but here  $œ^1$  underwent a further change to  $e^2$  by  $i$ -umlaut. Before  $-œ-$  on the other hand there is considerable variation. The change ( $a > œ^1$ ) is found (i) before final  $-œ$  when this corresponds to O.H.G. (final)  $-a$  representing probably a Germanic non-final  $-ō-$ , e.g. in the A.G.D. sg.‡ N.A. pl. of  $ō$ -stems: *-faerae* (Leid. Rid., Bede's Death Song), Ps. *wrece*, *sweðe*, W. Sax. *wraece* (C.P.); in West Saxon  $-a-$  is usual, but this is probably due to the influence of the N. sg. (and N.A. pl.?) where  $-a-$  was regular. So also in the N. sg. of  $ōn$ -stems, e.g. Cp. 25 *raece*, though in this case  $-a-$  has usually been restored on the analogy of the A.G.D. etc.; (ii) before  $-œ- <$  Germ.  $-ē-$ , e.g. *fæder*, *hæle*; perhaps also in some adverbial forms, e.g.

† Labial umlaut before palatalised labial vowels appears also in Old Norse, e.g. *fiorgyn*.

‡ The Dative is included here because there is complete levelling between the Genitive and Dative in all classes of feminine stems.

Cp. *hraeðe*, Ps. *hrēðe*; (iii) before *-æ-* < Germ. *-e-* before nasals, e.g. Cp. *slaegen*, *gegaelen*, *gedaebeni*, Ps. *slegen*, *hefen*, *-scecen*, *-scepen*. *-a-* has frequently been restored in these participles through the influence of the Present stem, e.g. in Ps. *agalene* against Cp. *gegaelen*; in this case the difference in the initial consonant was probably a factor. In West Saxon the forms with *-a-* are very frequent; *-sæcen*, *-slægen*, *-ðwægen*, *-hæfen* are however frequently found in the oldest texts (cf. Cosijn II. § 98 ff.) †. On the other hand *-a-* appears to be preserved before *-æ* < Germ. (final) *-ai*. The early West Saxon texts give the following examples: N. pl. masc. *hræde* (H. 5, C. 4) against *hræde* (C. 1), *late* (H. 3, C. 3), *ware* (H. 1, C. 1), but *stræce* (H. 1), *strece* (C. 1), cf. Cosijn II. § 38; Conjunct. *-fare*, *-sace* without exception, cf. Cosijn II. § 98. The Psalter has N. pl. masc. *strece*, *hrēðe*, probably on analogy of the N. sg. masc. etc. In regard to the treatment of Germ. *-a-* in the G.D. sg. of *a*-stems there are not sufficient data for forming an opinion. The forms *uilfaræs* M., *uilfaraes* N., *uilfares* C., against *uilfaeraes* B. in Bede III. 14 deserve notice.

In syllables which became or remained close after the syncope of final *-a*, *-e*, the change of *a* > *æ*<sup>1</sup> appears to be general, except before a double consonant (cf. p. 31). Two points require notice: (i) The change does not seem to have taken place regularly after the syncope of final *-a-* in the first member of a compound (cf. p. 31 f.). In *a*-stems indeed the type with *-æ-* (arising through the influence of the uncompounded word) is almost universal (*dæg-*, *stæf-*, *bæð-*, *cræt-*, *stæð-*, *wæl-* etc.); but in *ō*-stems we find such forms as *sac-leas*, *sac-ful*, *car-ful* etc. (beside *cear-* with diphthongisation through the influence of the A.G.D. sg. *ceare*); (ii) Germ. *-a-* before two consonants—excluding of course combinations

† Since *-aen* in the participle cannot be identified with O.H.G. *-an*, *-æ-* can only represent Idg. *-e-*, which must therefore have been preserved in this position in Germanic. Originally there may have been a variation between e.g. *-æna-* (< *-ena-*) and *-inu-*, the latter of which may be preserved in Ep. 744 *forsleginum* (cf. Erf. 336 *gedebin*), Ep. 104 *binumini*, Cp. 37 *binumine*, 76 *gebinumini*.

of which the first member was  $\chi$ ,  $r$ ,  $l$  or a nasal—when affected by  $i$ -umlaut appears sometimes as  $-e-$ , e.g. *gest*, *gerestan*, but more frequently as  $-æ-$ , e.g. *fæstan* (: O. Sax. *festian*), *hæftan* (: Goth. *haftjan*), *mæstan* (: O.H.G. *mesten*), *hlæstan*, *ræfsan* (: O.H.G. *refsen*), *wæfs* (: O.H.G. *wefsa*), *befæðman*, *mæðlan* (: Goth. *maþljan*), *æsc* (: Lat. *asciburgium*)† etc. It is to be observed that the latter type is especially frequent in verbs of the First Weak Conjugation, in which  $-a-$  must originally have been followed by  $-i-$  in every single form. That the apparent absence of umlaut in such cases is due to its suppression through the influence of kindred words which originally contained no  $-i-$  (e.g. *-fæðman* for *\*-fēðman* through *fæðm*), is rendered improbable by the regularity with which the new ablaut is preserved in the case of  $-u-$  :  $-y-$  (e.g. *ful* : *fyllan*),  $-ō-$  :  $-ōe-$  (e.g. *ofost* : *oefstan*) etc. Identity of vocalism between the verb and the noun is practically limited to the forms with  $-æ-$ . It appears to me by no means impossible that  $-æ-$  may be quite regular here. Only guttural and semi-palatal vowels seem to have been affected by  $i$ -umlaut. The absence of umlaut in W. Sax. *dæd*, *læce* etc. (as compared with *mete*, *-weccan* < *\*mæ'ti*, *\*wæ'kjan* etc.) can only be explained on the hypothesis that  $\bar{æ}$  was too palatal for  $i$ -umlaut to take place, and consequently that between *\*dædi* and *\*mæti* there was not only a quantitative but also a qualitative difference, the latter being less palatal. But it is quite conceivable that, at the time when  $i$ -umlaut began to operate, the vocalism of Germ. *\*fastian-* etc. had become identical in quality with that of *\*ðēði-z*; for since the palatalisation of  $-a-$  took place both in open syllables before  $-i-$  (e.g. in *\*mæti* < *\*mati-z*), and in close syllables (e.g. in *dæg*), it is likely enough that when both conditions were present, as here, the palatalisation proceeded still further. The quality of  $-æ-$  in *\*festian* may therefore have been so far palatal as to prevent the operation of  $i$ -umlaut. In *gest*, *gerestan* etc. the influence of analogy is easier to understand; *\*-ræstian* may have arisen from *\*ræstu* (: O. Sax. *rasta*), while *\*;æsti* (whence North. *gest*) may have had the semi-palatal  $-æ-$  (in place of the full

† O.N. *askr* does not prove the existence of an  $a$ -stem.



palatal sound) restored from the G.D. sg. where it was regular.

#### 10. THE SYNCOPE OF *-u-* AFTER A LONG SYLLABLE.

The examples of *-u* preserved in this position are very few in number.

1. The inscription *scanomodu* on an imitation of a gold solidus of Honorius (Wimmer, Runenschrift 87 f.). Wimmer's explanation cannot be right; *-mōdu* may very well be N. sg. of an *u*-stem, since in Old Norse also *-mōðr* in proper names is declined according to this declension (G. sg. *Ásmóðar* etc.). Since *-o-* is here expressed by the old letter, the changes in the Runic alphabet necessitated by the operation of *i*-umlaut cannot have been fully carried out; the inscription therefore must be very early, probably not later than the end of the sixth century.

2. Clermont *fodu*. This is an archaism, as is shown by the absence of *-u* in *unnez* and probably also by its wrong insertion in *ziupeasu*. A parallel is afforded by the O. Swedish inscription of Istaby, where, as a result of syncope, the old letter *a* (*\*ansuz*) is apparently used without any sound-value. Clermont cannot be much older than the end of the seventh century since it shows  $\bar{e} < \bar{e}^4$  in *-nez*,  $f < \text{final } \bar{b}$  in *wylif* and possibly loss of  $-\chi-$  in *-walus*. The most that can be argued from *fodu* is that the loss of *-u* cannot have taken place at any very distant date. Its usage here may be compared with the not unfrequent use of *-ae-* for  $-\bar{e}-$  in the MSS. of Bede (cf. pp. 4, 11). In a case such as the present the archaism would hardly be likely to remain in usage much more than half a century. The inscription of Kirkheaton has already *eoh*, but since the syncope here is irregular it is not certain that *-u* after long syllables was already lost. A parallel case is *-frid* (= *-friþ*) in Bede. The last letter in Bewcastle *alcfriþu* is not certain.

The Bewcastle form *olwfwolþu* appears to be simply a guess (cf. Vietor, North. Run. p. 15). Ef. 440 *aetgaru*, which

is often given as an example, is far more likely to be a mistake for *-gaeru*, which is found in the corresponding glosses of Epinal and Corpus. This must represent an earlier *\*aiziu*, and therefore does not come into consideration here.

On the other hand the form *ðweoru* (N. sg. fem.) in the Vespasian Hymns (7. 8, 39) beside N. sg. *ðuerh* is very important. Since *ðweoran* also occurs twice in the Psalter, there can be no reason for doubting that in this dialect Germ. *-χ-* was lost after *-r-* before the operation of palatal umlaut. Again there is nothing to show that the loss of *-h-* (*-χ-*) after *-r-* involved lengthening of the preceding vowel. Such was not the case with *-lh-*, though here the loss of *-h-* was subsequent to palatal umlaut (cf. p. 8). There is therefore no need to suppose that *ðweoru* (i.e. *þwēoru*) is a new formation. Unfortunately no other words of this type occur in the Psalter, but if the above explanation is correct we should expect *\*furu*, *\*feoru*, *\*fioras* (*\*feoras*) as the equivalents of W. Sax. *furh*, *feorh*, North. *firas* respectively. In other words, it appears that *-u* after a long syllable was retained in this dialect until after the loss of *-h-* in the intervocalic group *-rh-* (*-rχ-*).

There are several points which tend to support the supposition that *-u* was retained till a comparatively late period.

i. In originally trisyllabic words with long first and short second syllable (especially *io*-stems) final *-u* was preserved while the penultimate was syncopated (cf. Sievers § 135). Thus, whereas in the other Germanic languages the N.A. pl. *\*rīkiu* (< *\*rīkiō*) falls under the same treatment as the N.A. sg. *\*rīkia* (< *\*rīkiā*), *-u* being lost before the syncope of interior *-i-* after a long syllable, in English the reverse was the case, *\*rīkiu* falling under the same rule as (pret. 1 sg.) *\*ðōmiðō*; i.e. interior *-i-* after a long syllable was syncopated before the loss of final *-u*. So also with Ps. *ermðu*, W. Sax. *iermþo* (Oros.) etc.†

† Jellinek P.B.B. xv. 296 rejects this law without discussion. The regular form of the N.A. pl. would, he says, be *\*rice* not *ricu*. Since in substantives

ii. In consequence of the complete agreement between the glossaries in *a*, *na*, *tiig*, *brüg* (cf. p. 49), we are bound to infer that the loss of final *-u* < *-wa* was already complete in the original archetype MS. of Epinal-Erfurt. This MS. can scarcely have been written after 700 (cf. p. 154 ff.). So also we have syncope of *-u* < *-wa* in *gād*, apparently also of *-y* < *-wi* in *īh* etc. (cf. p. 49 n.), and probably of *-u* < *wa<sup>x</sup>* (the final vowel being uncertain) in *nēh*, W. Sax. *nēah* (: O.H.G. *nāho*). A considerable interval must obviously have elapsed between the syncope of *-a* and that of *-u* < *-wa*. But there is no necessity for assuming that there were two separate periods during which *-u* was lost after a long syllable.

iii. *-u* at the end of the first member of a compound was not syncopeated before the loss of intervocalic *-h-*, as appears from Ps. *neolæcan*, *neoweste*, W.S. *nealæcan*, *neawest* (cf. pp. 13, 17). The contraction seen in forms like L.V. *tiouald* may also be compared (cf. p. 50 f.). Not much stress can be laid on the Latin *audubaldi* (Bede M. II. 10, 11), since the name may be given in the form of some continental dialect (probably Langobardic)†.

How far labial umlaut took place before the syncope of *-u* in the dialect of the Psalter is very difficult to ascertain owing to the paucity of examples. \**aplu-* only occurs in the compound *eappultun*. The change *a* > *æ*<sup>1</sup> in close syllables must certainly have preceded the loss of final *-u*. Hence the retention of *-a-* before a double consonant in *cat*, *sac(c)* etc. (: O.N. *koṭtr*, Goth. *sakkus*) is perfectly regular. *-æ-* seems to have been frequently introduced (e.g. perhaps in *hæt* : O.N. *hoṭtr*) on the analogy of *a*-stems such as *scæt*, *gnæt* which would also regularly preserve *-a-* in the Plural. Whether analogy of the same kind but in the opposite direction has operated in Ps. *gneat*, *-sceat* (once each) is not

at least the type with *-u* is practically universal in all dialects, the suggestion appears very bold; Jellinek's statement of the auslaut laws in English is however open to very serious objections on other grounds : cf. pp. 71 f., 74.

† In any case the Northumbrian forms with *i*-umlaut, e.g. *aeduini*, come in all probability from a stem \**auða-* (: *ēad* nt.) with early syncope through the influence of the un-compounded form.



clear: more probably they are due simply to the influence of the plural.

On the whole it seems probable that the loss of final *-u* did not take place very long before 650, while the loss of *-u* at the end of the first member of a compound can scarcely fall before 700.

## 11. THE GEMINATION OF CONSONANTS BEFORE *-j-*.

In regard to the gemination or lengthening of consonants before *-j-* two questions have frequently been raised: (1) what was its chronological relationship to the syncope of *-a*, *-i*, *-u*? (2) did gemination take place also after long syllables?

A. The following is a list of the forms which are affected by (1), the form which according to Sievers (§ 130 note, § 134 note) existed before the gemination, being appended in each case:

- i. N.A. sg. *secg*, *cyn*, N. sg. m., N.A. sg. n. *nyt* < \**saꝥja(z)*, \**kunja*, \**nutja(z)*†.
- ii. N.A. pl. *cyn*, N.A. pl. n. *nyt*, < \**kunju*, \**nutju*.
- iii. N. sg. *hel*, N. sg. f. *nyt* < \**halju*, \**nutju*.

According to Sievers the gemination (and the consequent loss of *-j-*) took place before the syncope of *-a*, *-u*. In *secgu* (Ind. Pres. 1 sg.) *-u* will then be restored on the analogy of *doemu*, *cweoðu*.

B. The following is a list of forms which are affected by both (1) and (2):

- i. N.A. sg. *ende*, *rīce*, N. sg. m., N.A. sg. n. *groene* < \**andia(z)*, \**rīkia*, \**ꝥrōnia(z)*.
- ii. N.A. pl. *rīcu*, N.A. pl. n. *groenu*, < \**rīkiu*, \**ꝥrōniu*.
- iii. N. sg. f. *groenu* < \**ꝥrōniu*.
- iv. Ind. pres. 1 sg. *doemu* < \**ðōmiu*.

† Sievers writes \**saꝥjoz*, \**kunjo*; I prefer to write *-a-* for reasons given above (p. 14).

Sievers takes all these forms to have been originally trisyllabic and makes no mention of gemination after long syllables (cf. § 228). In the case of final *-ia*, *-a* was lost, *-i-* remaining; but in the case of final *-iu*, *-i-* was lost and *-u* remained (§ 130 note, § 135).

Before passing on to a discussion of (1) it will be convenient to touch briefly upon (2). The evidence for gemination after long syllables in English is very scanty indeed. According to Kluge (P.G. I.<sup>2</sup> p. 426) there is evidence for gemination only in the groups *-ngj-* and *-lgj-*, e.g. *hrinčǵe*, *spynčǵe*, *senčǵan*, *bylčǵe* (cf. Swiss *rinken*, *bulke*). The last form however (*bylčǵe*) cannot be admitted, for there is no evidence for the existence of such a word in Old English. The modern *bulge* is in all probability to be derived from O. French *boulge* (cf. Skeat, Etym. Dict. under Bulge). Again the examples with *-ncg-* prove nothing since *-g-* after a nasal was an explosive; Kluge's supposition that it was a spirant is based on an incorrect statement (cf. p. 80 n.). The change *g > ǵ* is obviously parallel to the change *k > č* and like it may be due to a following *-i-* (or any other front vowel†) just as much as to *-j-*. Lastly it may be observed that in forms like *ondettan* (which are not mentioned by Kluge) shortening may have preceded gemination. On the other hand there are strong arguments against the supposition of gemination after long syllables. Germ. *-χ-* is lost after long syllables in Cp. *scyend* (beside Ep. *scyhend*), W. Sax. *hean* etc., but *-hh-* arising from Germ. *-χ-* after short syllables is preserved, e.g. in W. Sax. *hliehhan*. Again if the sound-shifting in O.H.G. *wulpa* is an argument for the occurrence of gemination in High German, the universal preservation of the spirant (*wylf*, *wylfe*, *gelefan* etc.) is an equally strong argument against its occurrence in English. Again the historical development (in later English) of forms like *byrgan*, *wyrgan*, shows conclusively that *-g-* does not here denote a palatal double explosive arising from gemination. Lastly how is the difference between *rīce—cyn* (N.A. sg.), *rīcu—cyn* (N.A. pl.) to be explained on this

† Cf. Ep. 203 *gimaengiungiae*, where *-giae* is used to denote *-ǵæ*.

hypothesis, for the first syllable would be long in both series alike if gemination had taken place? The evidence therefore seems to me to be entirely against the supposition that gemination took place after long syllables in English. At an earlier (Germanic) period *-j-* may of course have occurred after long as well as after short syllables, but the variation of *-i-* and *-j-* according to the length of the preceding syllable must have been established in English before gemination took place.

Turning now to the discussion of (1), Sievers' theory, which offers a simple explanation of the forms in the series A, has of late years been generally abandoned, e.g. by Streitberg, P.B.B. xiv. 183 ff., xv. 494 ff., *Urg. Gr.* p. 148 f.; Jellinek, P.B.B. xv. 291 ff., xvi. 323 ff.; van Helten, P.B.B. xvi. 272 ff.; Kluge, P.G. p. 368, P.G.<sup>2</sup> p. 427 f. I gather from P.B.B. xiv. 184 (footnote) that it has been given up even by Sievers himself. The causes for its abandonment are various; so also are the theories which have taken its place.

Streitberg (P.B.B. xiv. 183 ff.) rejected Sievers' explanation on the ground of Kaufmann's gemination theory. But since in the meantime Kaufmann's theory has itself been found to be untenable (cf. Sievers, P.B.B. xvi. 262 ff.) and has been generally abandoned (e.g. by Streitberg himself in *Urg. Gr.* p. 148) this objection no longer holds good. A second reason is brought forward by Streitberg in P.B.B. xv. 493 f. and retained by him in *Urg. Gr.* l.c. (cf. Kluge, P.G. l.c.). That the West Germanic lengthening of consonants is later than the syncope of *-a* is, he says, proved by the existence of such doublets as O.H.G. *acchar* : *ahhar*, *apful* : *afful*. This explanation obviously rests on the curious assumption that the gemination before *-j-* and the gemination before *-r-*, *-l-*, were necessarily contemporaneous. But there is absolutely no evidence for early gemination before *-r-* in English. According to Streitberg (*Urg. Gr.* p. 150) this gemination was confined to the Germanic tenues. Now in the early West Saxon texts gemination of Germ. *k*, *t*, *p* (as of all other consonants except Germ. *z*, *r*) is universal



after short open syllables before *-j-*; on the other hand *-ccr-* occurs once in *geliccran* (H.) against countless examples of *-licr-*, *-ttr-* occurs in *āttres* (*āttor*), *wættre*, *snottra(n)*, *snyttro*, *bettra*, *bettrung*, *ryhttre* (cf. also *unnyttre*, *unnytttra*), while *-ppr-* does not seem to occur. The examples are given at length by Cosijn (I. pp. 172, 193). With regard to the forms with *-ttr-* it is to be observed that parallel forms with *-tr-* are more frequent in every case except *snottra*, *snyttro*; *wættre* occurs only once. It is also to be noticed that gemination before *-r-* in these texts is not confined to *c*, *t* but affects *-d-* also (cf. Cosijn, I. p. 173), and *-h-* (cf. Sievers, § 229). The lateness of the gemination is shown by the fact that in most of the examples the group *-ttr-* etc. has either arisen through syncope (e.g. in *bettra*) or follows a long syllable. Gemination of *-h-* (*-χ-*) at all events did not take place before the loss of final *-u*, if N.A. sg. *tēar* comes from Germ. *\*taχru* (cf. Lind. D. pl. *taherum* with the stem of the oblique cases). So also the irregular syncope in *betra*, *bettra* can scarcely be older than the regular syncope of *i-* after a long syllable (which was later than gemination according to Streitberg). But the form *æcer* is conclusive against the supposition of early gemination before *-r-*, for the change *a > æ<sup>1</sup>* in this word shows that the syllable was close, i.e. *æc-er*, in other words that the division of syllables was *\*ak-ra<sup>x</sup>*. The N.A. sg. is of course a new formation. The regular form would be *\*acor* (< *\*a-kr*). The forms with gemination can easily be explained; e.g. (G. sg.) *snot-res* has been partly displaced by *sno-tres* (in which form gemination is probably regular), whence *snottres*, through the influence of *sno-tor*. This shows also why gemination is especially frequent after long syllables and in forms which show syncope.

With regard to the gemination in *æppel* (*æpl*) the case is different, for here we have forms with *-a-* e.g. N. pl. *ap(p)la* beside forms with *-æ-*, e.g. *æp(p)las*, *æp(p)les*. But is the word an *a*-stem, as Streitberg assumes? His hypothesis is not favoured either by O.H.G. N.A. pl. *epfili* or by O.E. N.A. pl. *ap(p)la*, nor again by Ps. *eappultun*. Kluge (Wb.<sup>5</sup>

p. 15) proposes a Gothic *\*aplus* which would of course be fatal to Streitberg's theory, to which the priority of gemination to the syncope of *-i*, *-u* is essential. Whatever may be the explanation of these forms it is not wise to lay much stress upon them; for there is no other example of gemination before *-l-* in the early West Saxon texts. *Tyttling*, *tyttla* in the East Anglian genealogy (O.E.T. p. 171) seem to be examples, but here there has probably also been syncope †.

It appears to me therefore that the evidence in favour of the supposition that gemination took place before *-l-* contemporaneously with the gemination before *-j-* is of the most doubtful character, while the evidence against the same being the case before *-r-* is conclusive. This objection therefore against Sievers' explanation of *secg*, *cyn* etc. is not valid.

Jellinek (P.B.B. xv. 295) subscribes without discussion to the views expressed by Kaufmann, P.B.B. XII. 539 (footnote). In the passage quoted Kaufmann says that the development of *\*sa3jjoz*, *\*kunnjo* to *sec3*, *cyn* is only intelligible on the hypothesis that *-j-* disappeared before the apocope of *-o-*. This hypothesis he rejects because numerous examples of the preservation of *-j-* occur in Old Saxon and Old High German, although Anglo-Saxon itself furnishes no conclusive evidence on the point. Again he says that the umlaut in the N.A. sg. must under any circumstances be due to the

† Gemination of *-χ-* before *-l-* seems to occur in Erf. 326 *thuachl*, Cp. *ðuehl*, cf. Lind. *ðuahles*; so also in *geohol* in the English version of Bede. Now it is clear from Ep. Erf. Cp. *thuelan*, Ep. Erf. Cp. *ste(e)li* (< *\*þwaχliōn-*, *\*staχlia-*, cf. Kluge, Wb.<sup>5</sup> pp. 422b, 358a) that *-h-* (< *-χ-*) was lost at an early period in the group *-a<sup>x</sup>χla<sup>x</sup>-*. The preservation and subsequent gemination of *-χ-* in *\*þwæaχl-*, *\*3eoχl-* can, so far as I can see, be explained only in the following manner. On the syncope of final *-a* the forms would be (e.g.) N. sg. *\*þwæaχl*, G. sg. *\*þwæaχlæs*. Now if the division of syllables was *\*þwæa-χl*, *\*þwæaχ-læs* (parallel to *\*a-kʰ*, *\*æk-ræs*) the latter might easily undergo a transformation to *\*þwæa-χlæs* through the influence of *\*þwæa-χl*, the contrary operation to that seen in *æcer*. Gemination would then probably be regular. With *geohol* : *geol-* may be compared *hweohl-* : *hweol-* though here the question is complicated by the existence of forms with Germ. *-3(w)-*.

analogy of the oblique cases. This last statement is incorrect, for it is quite conceivable that a consonant or group of consonants might undergo a palatal affection, which in turn could affect the vocalism of the preceding syllable in a manner similar to that seen in O.N. *gestr* (Kock, P.B.B. xiv. 73 f.). But Kaufmann's entire objection rests on an assumption which is to be rejected in principle, namely that because two or more languages show a sound-change, the effects of which are in some cases identical, this sound-change must therefore have taken precisely the same form in the several languages, and that consequently those features in which a difference occurs must necessarily be due to the operation of analogy. The results of gemination before *-j-* are found in English (Frisian) and in High and Low German. In Old Saxon and in early Old High German the geminated consonant is followed by *-i-* (*-e-*), not however in even the oldest English. The absence of *-j-* in English and the absence of any effect produced by it upon a following vowel show that its disappearance took place earlier here than in High (and Low) German. In fixing the date of this disappearance relatively to the operation of other sound-changes, e.g. the syncope of *-a*, *-u*, the most weight must obviously be attached to the evidence of English itself. The evidence of the other languages can at best only furnish an analogy. If the evidence of the forms which come under consideration in the various languages agreed, there would be some reason a priori for supposing that the chronological sequence of events was not very different; if on the other hand, as is actually the case, the majority of these forms exhibit very material differences, it is scientific to enquire whether the development of the sound-laws was the same in these various languages, and not to assume that the forms of a language  $\alpha$  are necessarily new formations, and that regularly they would appear in the same form which they bear in a language  $\beta$ .

I hold therefore that not one of the objections hitherto brought forward is conclusive. According to Sievers' theory the forms in each of the series A 1, 2, 3 are perfectly regular,



and the attractiveness of this simple explanation cannot be denied. Before going further it will be convenient to examine the various theories which have been substituted for it.

Streitberg's explanation is as follows. In A 1, *secg*, *cyn* come regularly from \**secgi*, \**cynni*, the *-i* being lost contemporaneously with *-i* in \**ziest(i)*. \**secgi*, \**cynni* came from Urganic. \**sa3iz*, \**kunim* with introduction of the geminated consonant from the oblique cases (P.B.B. xiv. 188, Urganic. Gr. § 146, Anm. 2). In A 3, *sib* comes from \**sibbi* for \**sibi* (< Urganic. \**siḃi*), with *-bb-* from the oblique cases (P.B.B. xv. 501 f., Urganic. Gr. § 175). In view of Goth. *sibja* etc. this explanation can hardly be considered satisfactory. The forms of A 2 (N.A. pl. *cyn* etc.) are apparently not explained by Streitberg. But if *sib* cannot come regularly from Germ. \**siḃjō*, *cyn* must also be a new formation—possibly due to productive syncretism with the N.A. sg. But what form would Germ. \**siḃjō*, \**kunjō*—supposing such forms to have existed—regularly take in Old English? The evidence of the language itself gives us no reason to suppose that they would appear as \**sibbe*, \**cynne*.

Van Helten (P.B.B. xvi. 273 ff.) explains the forms in A 1 as follows: *secg* etc. come from \**sa3i* (\**se3i*) in the same way as by Streitberg's theory, but \**sa3i* (\**se3i*) was the regular result of Germ. \**sa3joz*. Later however (P.B.B. xxi. 475) he has adopted Streitberg's theory in toto. In A 3 he held (P.B.B. xvi. 279) that *sib* was a new formation in place of \**sibbi* which came regularly from Germ. \**siḃjō* (cf. above). Later however (P.B.B. xxi. 474) he has adopted Streitberg's explanation here also. In A 2 *cyn* was explained in the same way as *sib* (xvi. 279).

Jellinek's explanation differs widely from the two preceding. The forms in A 1 (*secg*, *cyn*) are new formations from the oblique cases on the analogy of *dōmes* : *dōm*, etc. The regular forms would be \**se3e* \**cyne* (P.B.B. xv. 296, xvi. 332 ff.). In A 3 the regular form would be \**sife* : Goth. *sibja* (P.B.B. xv. 296), because the gemination was later than the loss of *-u* (xvi. 328 ff.); *sib* is a new formation from

the oblique cases on the analogy of *āre* : *ār*, *bende* : *bend*. The forms in A 2 (N.A. pl. *cyn*, etc.) are apparently not discussed, but on Jellinek's hypothesis they must obviously be new formations. The regular forms would presumably be \**cyne*, etc.

Jellinek's explanation of *sib* must be considered in the light of his assumption (P.B.B. XVI. 331) that the loss of *-u* after a long syllable was contemporaneous with the loss of *-a*. I have already (p. 65 f.) stated reasons for believing that it was very considerably later. But Jellinek considers not only N. sg. *sib*, *nyt* (and presumably N.A. pl. *cyn*, *nyt*) to be new formations, but also (xv. 296) N. sg. f. *grēnu*, N.A. pl. *rīcu*, *grēnu* (and presumably 1 sg. *secgu*, *dōemu*)—in short every single English form in which *-u* preceded by *-j-* or *-i-* is supposed to have originally existed. But when all the possible examples of a rule are exceptions, is it not more reasonable to suppose that the rule itself is wrong? Again if gemination was later than the syncope of *-i* as Jellinek supposes, why did not gemination take place in originally trisyllabic words which preserve their third syllable? That this did not take place is shown by the loss of *-h-* in *hēan* etc. and by the preservation of the spirant in *gelēfan* etc. (cf. p. 68).

These arguments seem to me to tell strongly in favour of Streitberg's hypothesis that gemination took place before the syncope of *-i*, *-u*. On the other hand the agreement of Goth. *sibja*, *halja* and O.N. (N.A. sg.) *Sif*, *hel* against Goth. *mawi*, O.N. N. sg. *már*, *ylgr* Acc. sg. *ylge*† supports as strongly Jellinek's \**sibjō* (\**haljō*) against Streitberg's \**sibi* (\**halī*). So also the probability of productive syncretism with the N.A. sg. in (N.A. pl.) *cyn* seems to me to be very slight in view of *rīce* : *rīcu* and of the faithfulness with which the contrast between *geoc* : *geocu*, *word* : *word* is preserved in the early texts; while, apart from productive syncretism, I do not see what origin N.A. pl. *cyn* can have had unless it is regular. The probability therefore seems to me to be very strong that in *sib*, *cyn* etc. we must see the regular Old English repre-

† The corresponding Old Saxon and Old High German forms are obviously inconclusive.

sentatives of Germ. \**siðjō*, \**kunjō*. From these groundforms, whence (after shortening of the final syllable and gemination) \**kunnju*, \**sibbjū*, three courses of development are phonetically possible. 1. -j- might become sonantal after the newly lengthened syllable. 2. -j- might remain consonantal and be retained until -u was syncopated. 3. -j- might remain consonantal and disappear before the syncope of -u. In the first case we should regularly have \**cynnu*, \**sibbu* parallel to *rīcu*. This would of course account for 1 sg. *secgu*, but on this little stress can be laid since the restoration of -u in the 1 sg. was universal, e.g. (Ps.) *arīsu*, *bebiōdu*. In the second case we should have \**cynni* (\**cynne*), \**sibbi* (\**sibbe*), of which we find no examples in English. In the third case we should regularly get *cyn(n)*, *sib(b)*, the forms which actually occur, the development being \**kunnju* > \**kuñiu* > \**kynnu* > *cyn(n)*, perhaps partly as in Lithuanian (cf. Brugmann, Gr. I.<sup>2</sup> § 315), though there gemination and unlaut are wanting †.

For these reasons I consider that Sievers' explanation of N.A. pl. *cyn*, N. sg. *sib* is far preferable to any that has since been proposed. Is his explanation possible also in the case of the N.A. sg. *secg*, *cyn*—in other words is it possible that N.A. sg. *secg*, *cyn* may come directly from \**saꝥja(z)*, \**kunja* in the same way that *sib*, *cyn* come from \**siðju*, \**kunju*? I have tried to show that none of the objections hitherto brought forward will hold good. On the other hand such forms as N.A. sg. *mene*, *dīle*, *þīle* (beside O.H.G. *menni*, *tilli*, *dilli*, cf. Kluge, P.G.<sup>2</sup> p. 427) give clear evidence for the existence of forms with -i- during the period when gemination took place; it has further already been shown (p. 46 f.) that

† In Old High German and Old Saxon on the other hand -j- seems to have been retained and on the loss of -u vocalised according to (2). This stands quite in harmony firstly with the retention of -i- (e) before the endings -es, -e, -o, -um etc. in these languages; the relationship O.E. *cyn* (< \**kynnu*) : O. Sax. *kunni* (< \**kunnju*) is then identical with that of O.E. *cynnæs* : O. Sax. *kunnies*; and secondly with the fact that -u seems to have been lost at a relatively earlier period than in English, as is shown by \**rīkiu* falling under the same treatment as \**rīkia*; the relationship O.E. *cyn* (< \**kynnu* < \**kunnju*) : O. Sax. *kunni* (< \**kunnju*) is therefore parallel to that of O.E. *rīcu* (< \**rīkiū*) : O. Sax. *riki* (< \**rīkiū*).



there is reason for believing that forms similar to Goth. *hiwi*, *gawi* once existed in English. No objection can therefore be taken to Streitberg's hypothetical *\*sazī*, *\*kuni*. Yet I fail to see why these forms should necessarily contain Idg. *-i-* and represent Ugerm. *\*saziz*, *\*kunī*. For if, as Streitberg supposes, the syncope of *-a* took place before gemination, then *\*sazjaz*, *\*kunja* would regularly produce *\*sazī*, *\*kuni*. The *-i* arising thus from *-ja* would by no means necessarily undergo the same treatment as the *-i* in *\*rīki* (< *\*rīkīa*), since in the latter case the preserving influence of the ne-benton must be taken into account. The evidence for the existence of Ugerm. *i*-forms seems to me inadequate, especially in the case of neuter substantives; for the assumption that O.N. *kyn* etc. represent Ugerm. *\*kunī* etc. is rendered improbable by the consistent presence of umlaut. In the case of adjectives there is more probability in view of the forms with long stem, e.g. Urn. *-māriR*, Goth. *-mers*, O.E. *-mār†*, but by the same argument the universality of *-ia* (cf. Urn. *arḥija*, Tune) in neuter substantives tells here in favour of *-ja* against *-i*. The loss of the labial in Goth. *niþjis* etc. beside the feminine O.H.G. O.E. *nift* etc. may also be compared.

So far as I can see the only means of deciding whether gemination before *-j-* did or did not precede the syncope of final *-a* is afforded by the following consideration. Intermediate between Germ. *\*sazja(z)* and O.E. *secg* there must have existed a form with *-æ-*. But there is reason to suppose that no change *a > æ* took place before the syncope of final *-a* (cf. p. 33 n.). Therefore if we are to believe that gemination preceded the syncope of final *-a*, we must suppose the development to have been *\*sazja > \*saggja > \*saġġ > \*sæġġ > secg* — a hypothesis which is at least exceedingly improbable, especially in such forms as W. Sax. *gied* (*gid*, *gyd* : Ef. Cp. *geddi* Instr. sg.), in which diphthongisation appears to have taken place after the change *a > æ* but before the operation of umlaut.

† Goth. *midjungards* (cf. *middungeard* in Caedmon's Hymn) offers perhaps an example of Idg. *\*medhij̥*.

It seems to me probable therefore that Streitberg is right in holding that gemination before *-j-* took place after the syncope of final *-a*. His theory in regard to the historical development of *\*sazi*, with the introduction of the geminated consonant from the oblique cases, may be accepted without reserve; the history of the stems in *-auja-* : *-awi* (p. 46 f.) furnishes an exact parallel. On the other hand Streitberg's assumption that *\*dili* (*dile*), *\*sazi*, *\*kuni* contain Idg. *-i-* seems to me unnecessary. I prefer to regard these forms as the regular representatives of earlier *\*ðilja(z)*, *\*sazja(z)*, *\*kunja*; so also *\*hiwi*, *\*strawi* etc. < *\*hiuja*, *\*strauja*.

When *ja-*, *jō-* (*ia-*, *iō-*) stems serve as the first members of compound words, we find two types among those which contain a long stem-syllable; on the one hand forms like L.V. *hildi-berct*, Leid. Rid. *uyrdicraeftum* (for *\*uyndi-*), on the other forms like M. *haeth-felth*, L.V. *coen-berct*. The former type doubtless contains Idg. *-io-* as in *Inguiomerus* (Tacitus). In the latter series forms like *haeth-* might be due to the endingless Nom. sg. of the uncompounded form and consequent confusion with *i-* stems. But this cannot be the case with such forms as *coen-*; I do not see how these are to be explained unless they have Idg. *-i-*. In *ja-* stems with originally short stem-syllable also we find two types, on the one hand Bewcastle *cyniburu*<sub>3</sub>, Lancaster *cynibalp*, L.V. *cyniberct* etc. (the usual type in Bede and in Liber Vitae), on the other Bede *cynwise*, L.V. *cynhelm*, Geneal. *cynreow*, Chron. *cynric* etc., with which agree *ecg-frid*, *wyn-bald* etc. in all texts. Now according to Sievers (P.B.B. XII. 489 ff., cf. Streitberg, xv. 497) *cyni-* represents an earlier *\*kunjo-*, the reduction of *ja > i* in this position having preceded the gemination of consonants before *-j-*. *ecg-*, *wyn-*, *cyn-* etc. must then be new formations due to the influence of the uncompounded forms. This explanation seems to me unnecessary, for the loss of Germ. *-a-* at the end of the first member of a compound took place later than when *-a* was absolutely final, as is shown by the preservation (with contraction) of *-u-* (< *-wa-*) after long vowels (cf. p. 50 f.), and probably by the preservation of *-a-* before *-l-* in the same position (p. 31, cf. 62).

A good parallel is afforded by Gothic where final *-a-* is usually preserved in compounds (cf. especially such forms as *lubja-leis*, *wadja-bokos*, *alja-leiko* etc. Streitberg, *Urg. Gr.* § 145) though elsewhere it is everywhere syncopated. In view of Goth. *lubja- : dags* etc., Sievers' explanation of Urn. *kuni-mundiu* beside *helðar* in the inscription of Tjurkö—namely that here also *-i-* is an early reduced form of *-ja-* (*-jo-*)—seems to me highly improbable. The only other possible explanation of *kuni-* is that it contains Idg. *-i-*, as in Lat. *mediterraneus* etc., and the same explanation will hold equally well for L.V. *cyni-*. In that case *cyn-helm*, *ecgfrid* etc. may regularly represent Germ. *\*kunja-*, *\*azja-*, and the relationship of *cyni- : cyn* will be identical with that of *coen- : hildi-*. It is probably a mere accident that forms with *-i-* do not occur among the Germanic names in early Latin writers, though the type with *-ja-* (*-io-*) was doubtless more frequent. For the parallel case of *-u-* beside *-wa-* we have a probable example in *badu-hennae* (Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 75). Forms like *heri-berct* etc. may of course contain either Germ. *\*hari-* or Germ. *\*harja-* (cf. Tac. *Charioualda*).

## 12. THE PHONETIC VALUE OF *-g-*.

I. *Initial.* According to Sweet (*H.E.S.* § 541 ff.) *g-* in this position denotes (according to the nature of the following sound) a guttural or palatal explosive—the latter representing both Germ. *ɣ-* (before palatal vowels and diphthongs) and Germ. *j-*. This theory he supports with three arguments (§ 547). 1. “The W.S. change of *œ* into *çie* is the result of the almost inevitable development of an open front glide, which we may roughly call *j*, between the stopped front cons. and the vowel, and if we assume that in *ge* the *g* was also a stopped cons. the change into *gie* is perfectly analogous and intelligible, while that of *\*je* into *\*jje* is unmeaning. The same argument applies equally to *ġ* from Gmc. *j*: if *giung* meant simply *jung*, the development of a *j*-glide would be as unintelligible as that of a *w*-glide in such



a word as *willa*, the open *j* and *w* being themselves practically glides." 2. "Again L.V. writes *Ēudgar*, *Aldgisl* etc. but if the *g* were really an open cons., we should expect to find the preceding *ds* become *t* (524), which is not the case." 3. "Another argument in favour of the change of *j* into a stop is the loss of the Runic *j* and the use of *gefu*—which must certainly have originally denoted a stop—to represent both Gmc. *j* and the O.E. fronted Gmc. *g*."

1. The question whether diphthongisation after *j*- (i.e. a vowel with consonantal function) is or is not possible is one which can only be decided by practical phoneticians. I must confess however that I feel a certain amount of scepticism in regard to arguments of this kind. At all events the objection does not hold good against taking *g*- as a palatal spirant.

2. It is true that in *Liber Vitae* *-t-* is usually written for *-d-* before voiceless spirants (e.g. *eatfrith*, *altfrith*, *titfrith*, *eatðegn*, *altðegn*, *eatðryð*, *altðryth*, *altsuith*) though not always (e.g. *ualdfrith*, *aldðryth*, *blaedsuith*); so also before voiceless explosives (e.g. *eatcume*, *altceorl*), though names beginning with a voiceless explosive are very rare in the second member of a compound. But this only proves that *-d-* became voiceless before a following voiceless consonant. It has never, so far as I am aware, been suggested that *-g-* in *-gar*, *-gisl* represents a voiceless spirant. I can see no reason for supposing that the change *d > t* should take place before a voiced spirant or semivowel (cf. *alduulf*, *earduulf* etc.).

3. As a matter of fact the Runic inscriptions contain no word with initial Germ. *j*- (nor indeed with Germ. *-j-* in any position except possibly Clermont *twōēzen*), though Latin (consonantal) *i-* is expressed by the old 3-letter in Clermont *ziuþeasu*, Bewcastle *zessus*. The Germanic letter appears three times in abcdaria, each time in a different form, and none of these forms occurs outside England. This might appear to show that the letter had fallen into disuse. It seems to me very probable however that the letter which is found in the inscriptions of Dover (*gislhēard*) and Thornhill 3 (*gilsuip*), representing palatalised Germ. *ɝ-* in both cases, may be a form of Runic *j*. This form does not occur indeed in

any of the abcdaria, but it is precisely the form of the letter (*j*)*ār(a)* which appears in the Swedish inscriptions of Björketorp and Stentofta, as well as in some of the earliest Scandinavian inscriptions in the shorter alphabet (e.g. Vatn, Kallerup, Snoldelev). At all events it is no doubt true that *j*- and *ǰ*- had fallen together before the appearance of the earliest extant texts in the Latin alphabet, for otherwise we should have had some evidence for a difference in the representation of the two sounds; but Sweet's statement that the letter *gefu* must originally have denoted a stop is *petitio principii*.†

There is one serious objection to Sweet's theory. If initial (palatal) *g*- represents an explosive, one would naturally expect that the subsequent history of this sound would be parallel to that of (palatal) *c*- —in other words we should expect a *dʒ*-sound in the later language. This is the case with medial *-ǰ*- after nasals (e.g. N.E. *singe* < *sengan*), and here there is reason for believing in the existence of an explosive at a very early period, probably before the invasion of Britain‡; but for *dʒ* < (initial) *g*- there is no

† The question whether "the use of *i* in *iung* to denote a stop is in complete harmony with the late Lt. pronunciation..." is one which cannot be discussed here as I have not the necessary knowledge, and several antecedent questions would have to be answered first, e.g. was the pronunciation of Latin adopted in England that of Gaul or Italy or, again, was it that of the Keltic missionaries? I gather that there is some doubt even in regard to the Romance pronunciation of (consonantal) *i*- in cent. vii.

According to the notes contained in Cod. Sal. 140, fol. xx. which seem to date from the latter part of cent. viii. (cf. v. Grienberger, P.B.B. xxi. 196, 198 f.), the pronunciation of Lat. *g* before front vowels was equivalent to that of Gothic *j*:

*ubi dicit | genuit. J. ponitur*  
*ubi gabriel G. ponunt et alia his sim̄.*

I have substituted the Roman capitals *J*, *G* for the corresponding Gothic letters which occur in the text.

‡ This last sentence is an inference from the existence of the *ng*-letter in the Germanic Runic alphabet. Kluge's statement (P.G. p. 841) that *-cg-* does not occur after nasals before the end of cent. x. is incorrect. Examples of *-cg-* (*-gc-*) from cent. ix. are frequent, and there are a few from cent. viii. (cf. Sievers § 215, to which Corp. 1682 *oncǰseta* may be added). Moreover *-nc-* (for *-ng-*) is found as early as 692, 3 in *centinces* (Chart. 1, O.E.T. p. 426). It must be remembered also that there is no evidence in favour of Kluge's theory (P.G. p. 367 = P.G.<sup>2</sup> p. 426, P.G. p. 843) that gemination has taken place in *sengan* etc. (cf. p. 68).

evidence. Therefore while agreeing with Sweet that Germ. *j*- and (palatalised) Germ. *ȝ*- had come to be the same sound, I can not admit that this sound was an explosive. The choice seems to me to lie between *ȝ* (palatal spirant) and *ȝ̆* (vowel in consonantal function), and it is difficult to decide between the two. The argument from alliteration is not altogether conclusive because the influence of tradition has to be taken into account. The W. Sax. comparative *gingra*, superl. *gingest* are forms which demand consideration. Since *-i-* is universal in both MSS. of the Cura Pastoralis, and since forms with *-i-* (e.g. Ps. *gingrum*) occur also in the other dialects, though confused with forms with *-u-* (*gung-*, *iung-*, *giung-*), *-i-* can not be regarded as a later development of *-ie-*. Again it can not represent Idg. *-e-*, for the comparative is obviously a new formation from the positive. It may be suggested that *\*jingra* may have arisen from *\*ju<sup>ing</sup>(i)ra* in the same way as *\*wurpi* (> *wyrðe*), *wudu* from *\*wi<sup>ur</sup>pi*, *\*wi<sup>u</sup>du*. In that case Germ. *j*- must have remained *ȝ̆*- (parallel to *w-* = *u-*) during the operation of *i*-umlaut. Again forms like *suprige* etc. (p. 55), seem to point rather to *\*-j<sup>ie</sup>ja* than to *-ȝ<sup>ie</sup>ja*, though here the initial consonant is Germ. *-ȝ-*. Sweet indeed (as also Sievers, § 212 note) allows that Rushworth *iarwan*, early Kent. *aethiliaearði* (Chart. 6), may have *i-* = *j-*. It is not easy to see why the same should not be possible also in Bede *iaruman*, Cp. *ieces*, Ef. *iaces* etc. On the whole therefore it seems to me probable that Germ. *j*- preserved its original value, and that palatalised *ȝ*- became *j*- at an early period—not later than the first half of cent. VIII.

II. At the end of a syllable. The change of *ȝ* > *i* in this position is according to Kluge (P.G. p. 842 f.) as old as cent. x. and perhaps even belongs to Alfred's time, still older examples being found in the Epinal glossary, e.g. *grei*, *bodei*, *popei*. This early vocalisation of *ȝ* is not however peculiar to Kentish, as is stated by Sievers (§ 214, 2), for Liber Vitae also has *meiuald*, *meifrith*†. In the West Saxon

† The last word in the inscription of Thornhill II. may be read either as



texts of Alfred's time there can be no doubt that *ig*, *eg*, *æg* represent *ī*, *ei*, *æi* respectively. Thus *-i-* occurs for *-ig-* in *wiferþ* (Chron. 755), *wilaf* (828 = *wiiglaf* 825); so also *-ig-* is written for *ī* (*īe*) in *gebiggian* (Oros.), *igge* (Chron. 716 = *iege* 873) and especially in the Cottonian MS. of the *Cura Pastoralis*, e.g. *ligge*, *gebiggered*, *geciggered*, *getiggered*, *torenigge*, *siwenigge* (cf. Cosijn, I. § 95). That *-æg-* represents *-æi-* is shown by *bægerum* = O.H.G. *beiara* (Chron. 891), *mægelan* (Oros.) = O.H.G. *meilān* (< Lat. *mediolānum*). The loss of *-ǝ-* before dentals (Cosijn, I. p. 178 f.) is less conclusive since *-3-* seems also to have been lost after back vowels in the same position †. The evidence however is enough to show that Kluge has rather understated than overstated the age of the change  $\check{z} > i$ .

For the value of *-g-* after guttural vowels and diphthongs it is sufficient to refer to Sievers, § 214 (cf. Cosijn, I. § 135; Kluge, P.G. p. 842).

III. Intervocalic. The regular appearance of *-g-* for *-ǝi-* in Northumbrian texts seems to show that the change  $\check{z} > i$  took place in this position as early as cent. VII. The oldest example is Bewcastle *sizbecn*. Bede (M.) has *sigheri*, *sighard*, *sigberct*, *hygald*. *Liber Vitae* has 60 examples of *sig-*, 91 of *hyg-* and 16 of *pleg-* (cf. Langob. *placi-mundus* etc.) in the first member of a compound, and 39 examples of *-sig* in the second. There are no examples of *\*sigi*, *\*hygi*, *\*plegi* in early Northumbrian texts except the doubtful reading in l. 5 of the Leiden Riddle. The form *egsan* (Leid. Rid. l. 13) is to be compared with *pleg-*; so also possibly L.V. (l. 372), *regnhaeg* (cf. O.N. *regin*), but Bede, II. 12, *rægenheri* (M. = *raegnheri* B.C.), L.V. *raegnmaeld* (l. 18) doubtless contain Germ. *\*ra3na-*. So far as I am aware, postvocalic *-gi-* occurs in early Northumbrian texts only in Ruthwell *dæ3is*, which

*ēateh'ne* or *ēateinne* (cf. the description of this letter in the Cod. Sal. alphabet). The word is no doubt identical with L.V. *eatðegn*, *-þ-* having been accidentally omitted like *-r* in the line above.

† Forms like Cp. 495 *meig* (= Ep. 164 *meeg*), 728 *deid*, 850 *greig*, 1331 *eil*, so also *neid-* in Bede's Death-song seem to show that *-ē-* approximated in sound to *-ei-*.

is obscure, and in Clermont *æzili*, L.V. *egilmund* (ll. 109, 163, 272), and twice in the Namur MS. of Bede *aegilbericto* III. Pr. and *egilberictus* III. 7, though all the MSS. usually retain the Frankish form *agil-*; the apparent absence of umlaut in *ægil-* is against the assumption that *-i-* represents Germ. *-i-* in this word (cf. p. 84)†.

In the other dialects there is not the same consistency. Thus both Mercian and Kentish charters have forms like *sigred* beside *sigibed*, *sigenoð* etc. So also in the glossaries we find Ep. 992 *sigbeacn* against Cp. (2043) *sigebeecn*, Ef. 918 *ryg* against Ep. *rygi*, Cp. *ryge*, Cp. 331, 874, 1856 *sigl* against Ep. Ef. (134, 408, 882) *sigil*, Cp. 608 *smygla* against Ef. 199 *smygilas* (Ep. *smigilas*). Loss of *ȝ* before *-i-* appears to be shown by Cp. 765, 1023 *iil* (: O.H.G. *igil*) though it might also be explained under (II) above. In West Saxon texts we find *iil*, *il* (C. P.), *lið*, *liþ* (C. Oros. Chron.), *hyð* (H.).

Such forms as Ep. 78, Ef. Cp. *tilgend-*, Cp. 645, *seobgendum*, 1467 *geongendi* must either show loss of *-i-* before *-g-* (which in that case must in all probability denote *-j-*) or else *-g-* must represent *-ij-*. *nigon* (H. Oros. etc.) has been well explained by Jelinek (P.B.B. xiv. 582): *\*niun* has become dissyllabic through the influence of *sibun* (*seofon*) etc. The pronunciation therefore was doubtless *nijon*.

To conclude, there seems to be no evidence that Germ. intervocalic *-j-* ever became spirantal; otherwise the umlaut in W. Sax. *iege*, *hiege* etc. is unintelligible‡; but *-ǰ-* seems to have become *-ȝ-* at an early period—after the operation of *i*-umlaut but (at least in Northumbrian) before the end of cent. VII. The history of (guttural) *-ȝ-* presents no difficulty.

### 13. DIALECTIC PECULIARITIES.

Several characteristics common to the Northumbrian dialect and that of the Psalter and in part also to the South

† Yet the form *agilimundus* occurs in Amm. Marc. xvii. 12 (cf. also the umlaut in O.N. *Egill*).

‡ This does not apply to Germ. intervocalic *-jj-* the history of which in English is altogether obscure; cf. *wag*, (*wah*), *æg*, *hnægan* etc.

Eastern dialects—such as e.g. the effects of *i*-umlaut on diphthongs, the operation of palatal umlaut and the change of  $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$ —have already been discussed. It is intended here only to deal with such changes as seem to be peculiar to each separate dialect, or to have taken place at some period or in some form which distinguishes them from similar phenomena elsewhere.

### I. Northumbrian.

1. The change of  $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$ . In the MSS. of Bede it is perfectly clear from the consistent *-e-* of *ecg-*, *heri-*, *-stedi*, *sebbi*, *eu*, *cedd* etc. (so also before nasals, cf. p. 60) that *-e-* is the normal form of the *i*-umlaut of *-æ-* (Germ. *-a-*). On the other hand there are certain forms with *-ae-* (*-æ-*) before *-i-* in the following syllable. Of these *laestinga*, *uaetlinga* probably have no umlaut (cf. *uuffingas*, *tiouulfinga*); *aecci*, *aeddi*, *haeddi* again probably have  $\bar{a}^2$  (*i*-umlaut of *-a-*), cf. *acca*, *adda*, L.V. *hadda*; the same is perhaps true also of *blaecca*, *aebbae*. The form *aedil-* (beside *edil-*) however requires explanation on account of the difference between the MSS. of Bede and Liber Vitae. M. has 42 examples of *aedil-* against 6 of *edil-*, while Liber Vitae has 4 examples of *aeðil-* against 68 of *eðil-* (including a few cases in which the cross stroke of the *-d-* is omitted or no longer legible). Ruthwell has *æppilæ* but Thornhill I. has *epelberht*, *epelwini*. There is no evidence for *\*æpel-* in early Northumbrian texts, though that is the usual form in Mercian and West Saxon. Again Liber Vitae has *egilmund* (thrice) against Clermont *æ3ili*, while Bede N. has both *aegil-* and *egil-* (cf. p. 83). The change of  $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$  seen in L.V. *eðil-*, *egil-* is not altogether without parallels. Thus Germ. *-a-* before *-χ-* when affected by *i*-umlaut regularly appears as *-æ-* in Northumbrian, but in Lind. D. sg. *eher*, N. pl. *ehras*, Acc. G. pl. *ehera* we find *-e-*. The only explanation of these forms seems to be that they come from a N.A. sg. *\*ehhir* < *\*æhhir* (where *-hh-* must have come from the analogy of the oblique cases). In the



form *allmectig* in Caedmon's Hymn and in Ruthwell *almeh'ttig* also we seem to have a further development of  $\text{æ} > e$  before *-i-* in the following syllable. Lind. *mæhtig* may be due to *mæht*, since *a<sub>3</sub>a-* and *ī<sub>3</sub>a-* stems had fallen together in late Northumbrian. The evidence is indeed scanty but it seems on the whole to justify the supposition that a change of  $\text{æ} > e$  took place before preserved *-i-* in the following syllable. The date of this change may be determined approximately by the rarity of *-e-* in the MSS. of Bede. It is to be noticed that C. has *aeðil-* (*aedil-*) in every case where M. has *edil-*. About 720—750 then will seem to be the most reasonable date †.

2. *u*-umlaut. There is no evidence for umlaut before labial vowels prior to the operation of palatal umlaut, as was the case in the dialect of the Psalter. The preservation of *-a-* in Bede M. *hacanos*, *hagustaldensis*, Alph. *lagu* etc. is decisive evidence to the contrary. M. indeed contains no examples of *u*-umlaut except *derauuda* (v. 2), while on the other hand in addition to *hacanos*, *hagu-*, we find *baduuini*, *badudegn*, *hadulac*, *cerotæs*, *heruteu* etc.; so also *metudæs*, *-fadur* in Caedmon's Hymn. C. has *beaduðegn* (iv. 13), *ceortes* (iv. 6), *heorutforda* (iv. Pr., iv. 5), but this MS. is probably not Northumbrian (cf. p. 60). The Alphabet has *lagu* but *geofu*, and Ruthwell has *heafunæs*. For Liber Vitae the statistics are as follows: *haðu-* 58, *hað-* (error) 1 against *heaðu-* 19, *heað-* (error) 1, *heoðu-* 1, *eaðu-* 1; *badu-* 55, *bad-* 11, *badi-* (error) 1 against *beadu-* 3, *bead-* 1, *beodu-* 4; *alu-* 16; *lagudi* 1; *-uaru* 3; but *eafu* 2; total, forms with *-a-* 146, forms with *-ea-* (*-eo-*) 32. *friðu-* 18, *frið-* 4 against *friuðu-* 1, *frioðu-* 8; *-gifu* 1; total forms with *-i-* 23, forms with *-io-* (*-iu-*) 9. On the other hand against *eofor-* 2, *-geofu* 2 there are apparently no forms with *-e-*. The operation of *u*-umlaut is therefore far from being complete in Liber Vitae. From its partial character and from its almost entire absence in the earliest texts, it seems probable

† Lind. D. sg. *feder* probably does not belong here but is rather due to *i*-umlaut, representing a Germ. \**faðri*.

that its influence was scarcely perceptible (except perhaps after *w-*) before the middle of cent. VIII. It may be observed that *uudu-* occurs also in Epinal, though labial umlaut is there otherwise unknown.

3. Umlaut of *-e-* through a following back vowel (other than *-u-*) does not occur in the early texts though it is frequent in Lindisfarne.

4. Loss of *-u-* in unaccented syllables before *-h-*. In *Liber Vitae* there is no occurrence of final *-u* in the first member of a compound when the second member has initial *-h-*. The forms which are found are:—*bad-helm* (5), *bad-heard* (1), *bad-hard* (2), *bad-hun* (1), *bead-heard* (1), *frith-helm* (1), *frīð-helm* (2), *frīð-hild* (1), and probably *sna-hard* (1), cf. p. 50. It is to be noticed that the only other cases where *-u-* is wanting are *baduini* (2), *frithuini* (1), where the loss of *-u-* is in all probability merely graphic (against *baduuini* 11, *frīðuini* 2, *frioðuini* 3), and *hað-berct* (1 against *haðu-berct* 16) and *heað-frith* (1 against *heaðu-frith* 2), which may simply be errors. To judge from the absence of any exceptions and especially from the absence of diphthongisation in *sna-hard* (cf. p. 51) the operation of this syncope would seem to be fairly old (cent. VII.?). In that case *bead-heard* will be due to a compromise between *bad-* and *beadu-*. It would be unwise however to lay too much stress on *sna-hard*, as it may have been influenced by *snā*†.

5. Delabialisation of diphthongs. i. Germ. *au* seems to preserve its labial value in M. in three places, *aeodbaldum* II. Pr., *aeodbaldo* II. 7, II. 9; but elsewhere *-ea-* (rarely *-aea-*, *-ēa-*) is the usual form in M. In B. *-eo-* occurs in *eodbaldo* II. 7, II. 9, *eodfrīd* II. 14; so also in *deothdaege* in Bede's Death-song. In *Liber Vitae* *-eo-* for *-ea-* is not unknown: against 258 examples of *ead-*, *eat-* (including *eada* 12, *eata* 5, *eaðryth* 3, *ealac* 1) we find 5 examples of *eod-*, *eot-* (viz.

† This loss of final *-u-* has of course nothing to do with the svarabhaktic *-u-* which arises from *-lχ-*, e.g. in L.V. *aluch-sig* (2), *aluch-uald*, *aluch-burg*, *aluch-stan* against *alch-uald* (2), *alch-sig*. This svarabhakti is to be compared with such forms as *-ualach*, *-berict* which are frequent in the Namur MS. of Bede.

*edwulf* 1 *eodbald* 2, *eodwald* 1, *eota* 1), and against 149 examples of *ean-* we find 5 examples of *eon-* (viz. *eonwulf* 3, *eonwald* 1, *eonmund* 1); so also we find *aeostor-*, *eostur-uini* against *aestur-uini*, *aestor-hild* (once each). These examples are not sufficient to justify us in supposing that Germ. *au* remained labial in Northumbrian longer than elsewhere. It seems to me probable that the delabialisation was already complete in Bede's time and that *aeod-* has been copied from earlier documents. The comparatively frequent *-eo-* for *-ĕa-* in L.V. *beodu-* (4), *heoðu-* (1), may possibly mean that the new diphthong arising from *-a-* still retained a labial value (cf. *georored*, l. 282).

ii. Delabialisation of the *ĕo-*diphthongs (arising from Germ. *eu*, Germ. *e* before *r* + consonant etc.) occurs in M. in *earpualdo* (II. 15), *amfleaf* (I. 33), probably in *streanaes* (III. 24 etc.), possibly in *cearli* (II. 14), *eappa* (IV. 13, 14). In Ruthwell it is not quite clear whether we should read *hēofuncæs*, *hēō(l)du(n)* or *hēafuncæs*, *hēā(l)du(n)*, yet the use of the letter *ēar* shows at least that the sound of *-ĕa-* and *-ĕo-* can have differed but little. In *Liber Vitae* on the other hand the delabialisation is almost unknown, the only example of *-ea-* being *bearn-hard* (l. 464 against 72 examples of *beorn-*). The delabialisation cannot therefore have been complete in early Northumbrian, though this was no doubt the case in Lindisfarne.

iii. Delabialisation of the *īu-*diphthongs is unknown in the early Northumbrian texts †.

6. Above all it is to be remembered that the *ĕo-* and *īu-* (*īo-*) diphthongs were not confused in early Northumbrian. *Liber Vitae*, which according to Thompson (*Handbook of Palaeography*, p. 247 f.) ‡ was compiled about 840, is still

† Such forms as *irminrici* (M. II. 5), *uerlama-* (I. 7), *bern-uini* (IV. 16) etc., point to reduction of stress in the second member of the diphthong but not necessarily to delabialisation.

‡ The arguments adduced in support of this date in *Cat. Anc. MSS.* (Brit. Mus.) II. p. 84 and *Pal. Soc.* I. pl. 238 are far from convincing. Practically the date rests on the identification of *uoenan* (l. 16) with the Pictish king *Eoghenan* (reigned 836—839). This identification seems to me very doubtful. Judging from the general orthography of L.V., one would naturally read



quite free from this confusion. The Genealogies (O.E.T. p. 167 ff.) are not a Northumbrian text, for no Northumbrian kings are mentioned after Alhred (r. 765—774) while the Mercian line is brought down to Coenuulf (d. 819). The prototype list may of course have been of Northumbrian origin.

## II. *The dialect of the Psalter.*

1. Labial umlaut (cf. Zeuner, p. 28 ff. where full details are given). That this took place very early is shown not only by the fact that it preceded palatal umlaut, but also by the distinction between e.g. *hafað*, *sagað* and *spearað*, *cwae-cade*, which shows that *-a-* < Germ. *-ai-* and *-a-* < Germ. *-ō-* had not yet fallen together in unaccented syllables, the latter being still labial as also in N.A. pl. *daegas*. Moreover *-o-* < Germ. *-a-* before nasals was still labial (e.g. *draecan*, *-weafre* through the influence of *\*-weafran*), and even the sound arising therefrom by *i*-umlaut (e.g. *fearende*, *tosae-cendes* for *\*toscaecendes*); so also the sound arising from Germ. *-an-* before voiceless spirants appears to have been still labial (e.g. pl. *gehleadað*); so also Germ. *-ōj-* can not yet have become *-i-* (cf. *gleadie*). Syncope of vowels which have produced labial umlaut is seen in *ðeosne* etc. It is not quite clear whether such forms as *spreocu*, *steogun* are due to a second operation of labial umlaut or whether they are due to analogy.

2. Umlaut before back vowels may be old in *leofað* (: G. *libaiþ*). A later repetition with a different result is perhaps to be seen in *weagas*, *fealan* (cf. p. 7 f.).

3. The change of  $\omega^1 > e$  (cf. Zeuner, p. 11 ff.) must have taken place at an early period, for  $\omega^1$  must still have been distinct from  $\omega^2$ ,  $\omega^3$  and  $\omega^4$  which are exempt from the change (cf. pp. 4 f., 8), whereas the change of  $\bar{\omega} > \bar{e}$  affects  $\bar{\omega}^3$  and  $\bar{\omega}^4$  (though not  $\bar{\omega}^2$ ) as well as  $\bar{\omega}^1$ . The change of  $\omega^1 > e$  would

*woenan* as *woenan*. From the linguistic evidence I should feel inclined to date the text not later than the first few years of the ninth century.

therefore seem to be earlier than the change of  $\bar{a}^1$  ( $\bar{a}^3$ ,  $\bar{a}^4$ ) >  $\bar{e}$  and can hardly have taken place much after the operation of palatal umlaut. It may of course be still earlier. The change apparently did not take place in words which were not fully accented, e.g. *æt*, *ðæt* (cf. Zeuner, p. 13). Sievers' explanation of these forms (§ 151, note) is incredible to me.

4. Delabialisation of diphthongs. The confusion of  $\check{e}o$  and  $\check{e}a$  in nominal and verbal forms (other than those of the substantive verb) is comparatively rare (cf. Zeuner, pp. 23, 50 etc.). In pronominal forms however and in forms of the verb substantive *-ea-* regularly appears for *-eo-*, e.g. G. pl. *ðeara* (never *\*ðeora*) : O.H.G. *dero* (cf. G. sg. *ðere* : O.H.G. *dera*) ; G. pl. *heara* (either from *\*hezō* or through the influence of *ðeara*, cf. G.D. sg. *hire*, D. sg. m. D. pl. *him*) ; 1 sg. *eam* (: W. Sax. *eom*) ; perhaps also pl. *earun* : O.N. *ero* †. So also *-ie-* appears for *-īu-*, e.g. N. sg. f. *hie* (85, 11) : W. Sax. *hio* (*heo*) ; N. sg. f. *sie* (frequent) against *seo* (25, 10), W. Sax. *sio* (*seo*), cf. *ðeos* ; Conj. *sie*, *siem*, *sien* (frequent) against *sion* (60, 5), cf. *sio*, *seo*, *sion* in Chart. 45 (Surrey). In all these cases the delabialisation may be due to the fact that these words usually had a subordinate accent ; this is further confirmed by Acc. G. sg. etc. *onsiene* (: G. *siuns*), where the delabialisation must be due to the chief accent being on the first syllable. The delabialisation must of course have taken place before the  $\check{e}o-$  and  $\check{e}a-$  ( $\check{i}o-$ ) diphthongs fell together.

5. The  $\check{e}o-$  and  $\check{e}a-$  diphthongs are confused, as to some extent in West Saxon. They can be distinguished only

† The diphthong *-ea-* in *freamsum* is difficult to explain. It can hardly be due to anything else than labial umlaut of  $\bar{a}^5$ . A somewhat parallel case is Cp. 286 *fre(ð)mo* beside Ep. Erf. 135 *fremu* (cf. p. 113). In later texts *freamsum* also occurs. The difference between *fream-* and *fream-* may be due to a later operation of labial umlaut in the latter case—subsequent to the change  $\bar{a}^5 > e$ . The cause of the labial umlaut in *freamsum* is perhaps to be seen in the second element (*-sum-*) of the compound. In that case *fremu* will probably be a transformation of an older *\*fræ<sup>5</sup>mi* (< *\*framī*), and the labial umlaut in *fre(o)mo* will be due to the new case-ending. For the combination of *i-* and labial umlaut such forms as *eosol* (< *\*e<sup>2</sup>sul* < *\*e<sup>2</sup>slu* < *\*asilu*) may be compared.

(1) where palatal umlaut has operated, cf. p. 9 f., (2) where delabialisation has taken place through lack of stress; cf. 4, above.

### III. *Kentish.*

This investigation will be restricted chiefly to Charters 4—8, and 33—44 (in the Oldest English Texts) the Kentish origin of which is practically certain. The study of this dialect is beset with very great difficulties, for the differences between the language of the early charters and that of the later ones (especially 38—40, and 43, 44) are not all of such a character as might naturally be expected between the earlier and later forms of the same dialect. Thus palatal umlaut prevails in the early charters, but in the later ones it becomes gradually rarer (see below). But if the monophthongisation had once been complete, i.e. if *ǣa*, *ěo*, *ǐu* had become *ǣ* (*ē*), *ě*, *ǐ* respectively, as in Northumbrian and the dialect of the Psalter, it is incredible that the diphthong should again be restored in the same dialect without any diphthongisation taking place in the case of original *ǣ*, *ě*, *ǐ*. Again breaking of Germ. *-a-* before *l* + consonant does not occur in Chart. 4—7 and is rare before Chart. 38, but in Chart. 38—40, 43, 44, the examples of *-ea-* greatly outnumber those of *-a-*. The Kentish texts of the Middle English period (cf. Sweet, H.E.S. § 645, 740) agree with the later Charters. They show further that the breaking (or at least the palatalisation) of Germ. *-a-* before *l* + consonant took place before the palatalisation of initial gutturals, and consequently that a Kentish form *ceald* (= \**čeald*) of cent. IX. can not be the direct development of a Kentish form *cald* (= \**kald*) of cent. VIII. The evidence of the forms with *i*-umlaut unfortunately can not be relied on here; for since there is a change of *ǣ*<sup>2</sup> > *ē* in Kentish, there may also have been a change of *æ*<sup>2</sup> > *e*, as in the dialect of the Erf. glossary (p. 107), consequently *uelhisci* (Chart. 4) might have *-e* < *æ*<sup>2</sup> (i.e. \**walχisk-*) just as well as *-e* < *æ*<sup>3</sup> (i.e. \**wæalχisk-*). These difficulties, so far as I can see, can only be solved on the



hypothesis that the dialect of the later charters was from the beginning distinct from that in which the earlier charters were written, the latter being closely related to the Midland and Northumbrian dialects, while the affinities of the former were apparently rather with West Saxon. Such a change of dialect might be explained in two ways: i. There may have been two distinct dialects in Kent from the beginning, one, which belonged originally perhaps to the Eastern part (Canterbury and its neighbourhood), at first prevailing but being eventually ousted by the other, which perhaps belonged to the districts bordering on Surrey and Sussex. ii. The dialect of the earlier charters may not have been true Kentish at all but a literary or court language of chiefly Midland complexion though modified by local characteristics; this may in time have given place to the native dialect, which is therefore to be seen in the later charters. The latter explanation seems to me the more probable since the time covered by those charters which show a dialect of the first type coincides approximately with the period of Mercian supremacy, which lasted (with intermissions) from Wulfhere to Coenwulf. It is noticeable that the first charter (38) with strongly marked characteristics of the second type belongs to 831, only a few years after the fall of the Mercian power (cf. Chron. 823).

It will be found convenient to divide the later charters into four groups, the first containing Chart. 33—36, the second Chart. 37, the third Chart. 38—40 and 43, 44, the fourth Chart. 41, 42. Of these groups the third shows the most striking characteristics of the later or strictly Kentish language.

1. The breaking of Germ. *-a-* before *l* + consonant. Charters 4—7 give 9 examples of *-a-*, none of *-ea-* (though *aeldredi* occurs in Chart. 4); Chart. 8 gives one example of *-ea-*, none of *-a-*; Chart. 33—36 give 14 examples of *-a-*, 5 of *-ea-*; Chart. 37 gives 4 examples of *-a-*, none of *-ea-*; Chart. 38—40, 43, 44 give 11 examples of *-a-*, 38 of *-ea-*; Chart. 41, 42 give 12 examples of *-a-*, 3 of *-ea-*. After 850 forms with *-a-* seem to have become quite exceptional, as

may be seen from Chart. 27—32 which are distinctly Kentish in their language. In only one of these (Chart. 29) is *-a-* at all frequent. Subsequent monophthongisation of *-ea-* to *-æ-* appears in *eðelbæld* (Chart. 32).

2. Palatal Umlaut. In Chart. 4—7 we find: monophthongal forms 4 (*uiiht-* twice, *leg*, *aehcha*, all in Chart. 5), diphthongal none; Chart. 8, monophthongal 1 (*uiiht-*), diphthongal 1 (*heah-*); Chart. 33—36, monophthongal 3 (*uiiht-*, *hæh* 33, *reht-* 34), diphthongal 9 (*heah* four times, *beag* 33, *wioht* 34, *heah* twice 35, *beag* 36)†; Chart. 37, monophthongal 6 (*aec*, *æc*), diphthongal 1 (*weax*); Chart. 38—40, 43, 44, monophthongal 1 (*reht-* 38, cf. also *betwix* 44), diphthongal 11 (*feoh*, *reoht*, *heah* 38, *fiah* 39, *geðeahte*, *heah*, *beag*, *smeagende* 40, *meahse* 43, *heah*, *eacca* 44); Chart. 41, 42, monophthongal 3 (*sex* twice 41, *bæg* 42), diphthongal 1 (*beag* 41).

3. The change of *æ > e*. No examples of *-e- < æ¹* occur in the early Charters (4—8). In the later Charters the occurrences are as follows: Chart. 33 ‡ *aeðel-* 5, *daeg-* 1; total *-æ-* 6; *-e-* does not occur. Chart. 34 *aeðel-* 5, *æt* 2, *ðæt* 3, *hæbbe* 2, *et* 1, *hueðer* 1; total *-æ-* 12: *-e-* 2. Chart. 35 *aeðel-* 4, *æt* 4, *ðæt* 2, *et* 1; total *-æ-* 10: *-e-* 1. Chart. 36 *aeðel-* 2, *daeg-* 1, *æt* 1; total *-æ-* 4; *-e-* does not occur. Chart. 37 *æt* 8, *ðæt* 10, *hæbbe* 1, *ðæs* 2, *mæge* 2, *hwæder* 1, *æfter* 1, *dæg* 3, *ðætte* 1, *ðette* 1, *hueder* 1, *festen* 1; total *-æ-* 29: *-e-* 3. Chart. 38 *eðel-* 5, *ðet* 4, *et* 3, *wes*, *ðes* 2, *hebfað*, *hebbe*, *festnie*; total *-e-* 17; *-æ-* does not occur. Chart. 39 *ðet* 2, *et* 4, *deg*, *dei*, *ðes*, *hebbe*, *hwet*, *scel*; total *-e-* 12; *-æ-* does not occur. Chart. 40 *aeðel-* 2, *ðæt*, *ðet* 2, *et* 3, *festnie* 2, *hebbe* 3, *wes*, *dei*, *-gef*; total *-æ-* 3: *-e-* 13. Chart. 41 *aeðel-*, *æt* 4, *ðæt* 15, *hæbbe* 2, *æfter* 2, *hwæder*, *dæg*, *hwæt*, *begæt*, *mæge*, *et* 2, *deg* 3, *hebbe*, *festnie* 2, *æfter*; total *-æ-* 29: *-e-* 9§. Chart. 42 *ðæt* 4, *æt*, *begæt*, *æfter*, *eðel-* 2, *ðet* 2, *dei* 5, *deg*, *festnie*, *ðes*, *fere*, *liffest*, *befestan*, *megen*; total *-æ-* 7: *-e-* 16. Chart. 43

† The forms *heagyðe*, *hegyðe*, *hægyðe* which occur once each in Chart. 34 are omitted; so also forms with *berht* which alone occur in these charters.

‡ In this list slight orthographical differences such as *e*, *ae* for *æ*, *u* for *w*, etc. are not regarded.

§ Cf. also *fulgere* l. 65.

*eðel-* 8, *ðet, et, deg*; total *-e-* 11; *-æ-* does not occur. Chart. 44 *ēðel-* 9, *deg*; total *-æ-* 9: *-e-* 1. The absence of *-e-* (<  $\omega^1$ ) in the early Charters must be simply an accident, for the confusion is shown by the use of *-e-* for *-æ-* (< Germ. *-e-*) in *gebredi* (Chart. 4). Similar cases in the later Charters are: *gæfe* etc. (37 thrice), *-cuaedenan* (37 twice and *-cuedenan* once), *swæstar, wærgeld* (41). So also *-æ-* ( $\epsilon$ ) appears for *-e-* <  $e^2$  in *tuelf* (37 thrice), *alles* (41), *swælc* (41 thrice), *selles* (41) and perhaps in *twægen* (41). It is to be observed that in contrast to the dialect of the Psalter the change of  $\omega > e$  takes place also in words which were not fully accented, e.g. *et, ðet* beside *æt, ðæt*; so also the change affects  $\omega^3$ , e.g. *allmehtgum* (37, 42). Whether *uelhisci* (Chart. 4), *uuelesces* (37), *elf-* (38) have  $e < \omega^3$  or  $e < \omega^2$  is not quite certain, but in *uelhisci* the latter is more probable. The same change is found in the glossaries (cf. p. 107). Before *-rr-* and *-r-* + consonant the cases of  $\omega : e$  (<  $\omega^3$ ) seem to correspond closely to the cases of  $\omega : e$  (<  $\omega^1$ ) above: thus *ærfe-* (*ærbe-*) occurs in Chart. 40 (twice), 41 (4 times), 42 (7 times), 44 (once); *ærðe-* in Chart. 42 (once); *oncærrende* in Chart. 34 (once); so also *ærce-* Chart. 40, 41 (once each). On the other hand *-e-* occurs in *erfe* (*érfe* 34 l. 9, *erbe* 40 l. 19) Chart. 34 (once), 39 (once), 40 (twice), 41 (twice); *ferwerne* in Chart. 40 (once), *gecerran* in Chart. 40 (once); and *erce-* in Chart. 38, 40 (once each). Probably lengthening before *r* + consonant did not take place so early as in the dialect of the Psalter and Northumbrian. The conclusions drawn from the Kentish evidence altogether may be summed up briefly as follows: the change of  $\omega > e$  (and consequent confusion with  $e^1$  and  $e^2$ ) began very early, probably before the end of cent. VII., and was not confined to  $\omega^1$  as in the dialect of the Psalter, but extended also to  $\omega^3$  and probably to  $\omega^2$ .

4. The change of  $\bar{\omega} > \bar{e}$ . i. Forms with *-e-* <  $\bar{\omega}^1$  are frequent in the earliest Charters, though forms with *-æ-* ( $\omega$ ,  $\epsilon$ ) are also found. Chart. 4 has *-redi* (thrice) against *-maeri* (once); Chart. 5 has 4 examples of *-e-* (*-redus, meg-, stret, -redi*) but none of *-æ-* etc. In the later Charters the occurrences are as follows: Chart. 33 *-æ-* 1 (*wær-*): *-e-* 2



(*wer-*); Chart. 34 -e- 1 (*were*); Chart. 35 -e- 2 (*-setum, wer-*); Chart. 36 -e- 1 (*wer-*); Chart. 37 -æ- 9 (*ðær* 3, *wæron, scep, caeses* (2), *uuege, suesenda*): -e- 3 (*red, suesendum, arede*); Chart. 38 -e- 6 (*wer-, were, mei, meg, begetan* 2); Chart. 39 -e- 6 (*mei, gere* 2, *cesa, wege* 2); Chart. 40 -æ- 1 (*wega*): -e- 4 (*wer-, mei-, gere, cesa*); Chart. 41 -æ- 6 (*wer-, þær, scep, megas, sēle, sæleð*): -e- 12 (*mei, gere, cesa* 2, *wega* 2, *scep, ðer* 3, *gesele, -lese*); Chart. 42 -æ- 2 (*ðer, swæsendum*): -e- 2 (*red, medwe*); Chart. 43 -e- 5 (*medwe* 3, *stret* 2); Chart. 44 -e- 1 (*mei-*). The following forms have been omitted from this list: (1) *suae, swæ* etc.; Chart. 34 (7 times), 37 (6 times), 41 (6 times), 42 (7 times): *swe* etc.; Chart. 38 (4 times), 39 (once), 40 (twice); this word may have undergone shortening. (2) -*red* in compound names; this form appears consistently; here also shortening is not unlikely.

ii. Forms with -*ae-* ( $e = \bar{e}^3$ ) are more frequent in the early Charters: Chart. 4 - $e$ - 1 (*ędrico*); Chart. 5 -*ae-* 1 (*-gae*) against one probable example of -*e-* (*enfridi*); Chart. 7 -*ae-* 2 (*-iaae, -iaee*); to these examples *limin-ae* (Chart. 6) with - $\bar{e}$ - arising from contraction of  $e^3 + i$  is probably to be added. In the later Charters only -*e-* occurs: *egi* in Chart. 33; -*ge* in Chart. 34, 35 (five times), 36; and perhaps *hei* in Chart. 43.

iii. -*e-* <  $\bar{e}^4$  seems to occur in -*leg* (Chart. 5); -*æ-* occurs in -*hæh* (Chart. 33), *hęgyðe, hægyðe* (Chart. 34), *æc, aec* (6 times in Chart. 37), *bæg* (Chart. 42), possibly also in *pæga* (Chart. 33). Elsewhere the diphthong is restored (cf. p. 92).

iv. -*e-* <  $\bar{e}^2$  appears first in Chart. 37. There seem however to be no examples of words with  $\bar{e}^2$  in the early Charters except probably *aes(s)ica* in Chart. 5 (cf. *aesica* in Bede, iv. 8). Chart. 33 has -*hæð*; Chart. 34 has 8 examples of -*æ-* (*æht* 2, *nænig* 2, *ðæm, aræddan, bæm, gedæle*); Chart. 35, 36 have no examples. In Chart. 37—43 the occurrences are as follows: Chart. 37 *ðæm* 3, *huaetenra, aegera, geme-num, maest, ðem* 3, *hela, clenra, gedele*; total -*æ-* 7: -*e-* 6. Chart. 38 *ðem, er, enig, neniggra, mest, se-*; total -*e-* 6; there are no examples of -*æ-*. Chart. 39 *ðem* 4, *awege*; total

-e- 5; no examples of -æ-. Chart. 40 *ðæm*, *ðem* 3, *leste*; total -æ- 1: -e- 4. Chart. 41 *ðæm* 3, *ær*, *ænig*, *ænne*, *gelæsten*, *gelæste*, *ðem* 6, *clennisse* 2, *gedele*, *hemed*, *redenne*; total -æ- 8: -e- 11. Chart. 42 *ðæm* 2, *ær* 2, *mest*, *gerece*, *leste*; total -æ- 4: -e- 3. Chart. 43 has *se-*.

The change of  $\bar{æ}^1 > \bar{e}$  must have taken place before the end of cent. VII. and the same is probably true of  $\bar{æ}^3 > \bar{e}$  in spite of the survival of *-gae* etc. The change of  $\bar{æ}^2 > \bar{e}$  on the other hand belongs in all probability to a somewhat later period; yet not so late as might be inferred from the absence of forms with *-e-* before Chart. 37; for Corpus contains several examples while in Erfurt they are frequent (cf. p. 119 f.). The change of  $\bar{æ}^2 > \bar{e}$  is confined to this dialect, and the archetype of Erfurt was probably a Kentish text, while Corpus, though not Kentish itself, has been compiled in part from Kentish sources (cf. p. 161). Neither Corpus nor the archetype of Erfurt can very well be later than the end of cent. VIII.

The completeness of the change  $\bar{æ} > \bar{e}$  is shown lastly by the use of -æ- for -e- in *haer*, *aecan* (37), *æce* (42 twice), *ec* (44): W. Sax. *hēr*, *ēce*.

5. Diphthongs. i. One of the most striking characteristics of the early Charters is the frequent preservation of *-aea-*. Thus Chart. 6 has *balthhaearði*, *aeamberhti*, *aethiliaearði* and Chart. 5, 7 have *-aea* (arising through contraction). With the exception of *theabul* (Chart. 5) *-ea-* does not appear before Chart. 8 where as also in the later Charters it is universal.

ii. Confusion of the  $\check{e}o-$  and  $\check{i}u-$  ( $\check{i}o-$ ) diphthongs. In the early Charters there is no evidence, but in the later ones it appears to be complete. Thus e.g. *biorn* (36) beside *beorn* (33 twice, 34, 35 twice, 37 thrice, 40 twice), *ciol* (36, 41 twice, 44 four times) beside *ceol* (33 twice, 34, 35, 38, 40 twice, 42, 43); *wiorð* (34); *siolf* (41, 42) beside *seolfa* (34); *ðiow* (37 twice, 41); *liofast* (42 twice), *liofre* (41 four times); *geleornie* (34), *weorðe* (41 thrice), *ðreo-* (41 twice). In the latest Charters *-io-* tends to become more frequent.

iii. Confusion of the *ěa*- and *ěo*- diphthongs is not very frequent. The following examples occur in the later charters: *eoster*- (35 four times), *georwien* (37), *-weord* (37), *beorn* (38); *bearn*- (37), *-bearte* (38), *bearht* (43 twice, 44 twice), *-beadeð* (41). The last two examples are probably due to delabialisation (see below). So also in (relatively) unaccented words: *earan* (34), *ðeara* (36, 37, 41 thrice).

iv. Delabialisation of the diphthong *io* (< earlier *ĩo*, *ěo*). Besides the forms with *-ea-* we find also *-ia-*, though not before Chart. 38. These forms are especially frequent in Chart. 38—40, 43, 44, which altogether have 17 *ia* against 12 *eo*, 7 *io*; Chart. 38: *hia* (2), *friandum*, *biarn* (5), *cial*; Chart. 39: *bebiade*, *sia*, *fiah*; Chart. 40: *bebiade*, *sia*; Chart. 43: *biarn*, *diar*; Chart. 44: *cial*. On the other hand Chart. 41, 42 have only 3 cases of *-ia-* (*hia* twice, *bian* all in 41; possibly also *geðian*) against 16 *eo*, 18 *io* †.

6. The confusion of *-y-* and *-e-* (< *e*<sup>1</sup>, *e*<sup>2</sup>, *æ*<sup>1</sup> etc.) occurs only in Chart. 38 *yfter* (twice); and therefore was probably only beginning in the first half of cent. IX. A further example is perhaps afforded by *-styde* in Chart. 29.

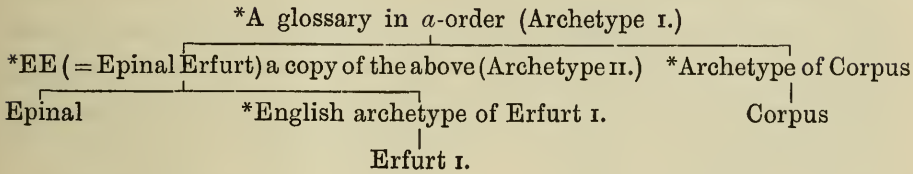
#### 14. THE EPINAL, ERFURT AND CORPUS GLOSSARIES.

In tracing the historical development of Old English sounds I have used the evidence of the Glossaries very sparingly. This has been done for two reasons, firstly because there is no decisive external evidence in regard either to the period or the locality in which they were written; secondly because the internal evidence is obviously very complicated. Apart from any questions of date or dialect, I accept Sweet's conclusions (O.E.T. p. 33) on the general

† Examples of *-ia-* for earlier *io*, *eo* arising from back and labial umlaut (e.g. *hiabenlice*, *wiaralde*) are not included in these statistics. The same remarks apply however here also.



relationship of the texts. These may conveniently be tabulated as follows :—



That Erfurt is not a direct copy of Archetype II. (Sweet's "EE") will be made quite clear by the following investigation (cf. also O.E.T. p. 31). The above table represents the minimum number of texts necessarily involved. There may of course have been others; for example, there may have been more than one text intermediate between Archetype I. and Corpus. The Archetype of Corpus had other sources besides Archetype I., some of which were used also for Erfurt II. and probably for Erfurt III. (cf. Sweet l. c.).

The difficulties involved in the investigation of the English forms are obvious. Any given form (e.g.) in Epinal may either directly represent a form of Archetype I., or may be due to a change in Archetype II. or in Epinal itself. In the following pages I have tried to ascertain (1) the forms of Archetype I., and (2) the changes characteristic of each of the three texts. The forms of Archetype I. may be inferred with some degree of probability when all the three texts agree; so also with the forms of Archetype II. when Epinal and Erfurt agree. Changes characteristic of Epinal may be inferred when Erfurt and Corpus agree in a form differing from that of Epinal. Changes characteristic of Erfurt may be inferred in the same way from the agreement of Epinal and Corpus. In applying this test certain reservations must of course be made. The chief difficulty lies in determining the forms of Archetype I. when the forms of Epinal and Erfurt differ from those of Corpus. Glosses in which all three texts show material differences in English words are not very frequent. Lastly it may be mentioned that even among those glosses in which all three texts show identical forms, and which may therefore reason-

ably be regarded as representing the forms of Archetype I., the language is far from consistent. The reason for this is doubtless that in Archetype I. as in the surviving texts some words were copied directly from much older documents (whether non-alphabetical glossaries or even from the original interlinear glosses themselves), while others were modernised (cf. p. 140 etc.).

The following tables do not claim to give an exhaustive account of the phonology of the glossaries. The discussion is confined to sounds which are differently treated in the different dialects and to forms which show archaic or dialectical peculiarities. For the rest it will be enough to refer to Dieter, Ueber Sprache u. Mundart der ältesten englischen Denkmäler (Göttingen 1885).

It will be convenient to divide the glosses into three classes: A. Glosses found in Epinal and Erfurt I. B. Glosses in Erfurt II., III. C. Glosses peculiar to Corpus.

i.  $\text{æ}^1$ .

A.  $\text{æ}^1$  is usually represented by *ae* ( $\text{æ}$ ,  $\text{e}$ ) in all the glossaries. In 30 clear cases of  $\text{æ}^1$  Epinal, Erfurt and Corpus agree in *ae* ( $\text{æ}$ ,  $\text{e}$ ):—

Ep.	50 <i>aesil</i> =auellanus	Erf. <i>haesl</i>	Cp.	243 <i>hae(s)l</i>
	84 <i>hraegli</i> =amiculo	<i>hraegl</i>		155 <i>hregli</i>
	90 <i>uuraec</i> =aegit,	<i>uraec</i>		94 <i>wraec</i>
	110 <i>faestinnun</i> =arcibus	<i>festinnun</i>		223 <i>faestinnun</i>
	157 <i>scaet</i> =bona	<i>scaet</i>		311 <i>scaet</i>
	174 <i>naesgristlae</i> =cartilaga	<i>naes-</i>		350 <i>naes-</i>
	180 <i>aesc</i> (etc.)=cercylus	<i>aesc</i> (etc.)		438 <i>aesc</i>
	205 <i>gihaeplice</i> =conpar	<i>gihaepliae</i>		524 <i>gehaeplice</i>
	232 <i>uua(e)terthruch</i> =caractis	<i>uaeter-</i>		367 <i>uuqter-</i>
	236 <i>haesil</i> =corylus	<i>haesl</i>		536 <i>haesl</i>
	405 <i>librlaeppan</i> =fibrae	<i>-laeppan</i>		873 <i>-laeppan</i>
	440 <i>aetgaeru</i> =framea	<i>aetgaru</i>		922 <i>aetgaeru</i>
	450 <i>aescthrotae</i> =ferula	<i>aesc-</i>		861 <i>aesc-</i>
	479 <i>aedilra</i> =gregariorum	<i>aedilra</i>		993 <i>unaeðilsa</i>
	523 <i>uuaes</i> (etc.)=(interceptum) est	<i>-uaes</i>		1084 <i>-uaes</i>
	525 <i>gibaen uuaes</i> =inpendebatur	<i>-uaes</i>		1086 <i>-uaes</i>
	577 <i>staebplegan</i> =ludi litterari	<i>scaeb-</i>		1245 <i>staef-</i>

Ep. 677	<i>blaecteru</i> = <i>napta</i>	Erf. <i>blaec-</i>	Cp. 1360	<i>blaec-</i>
706	<i>bigaet</i> = <i>obtenuit</i>	<i>bigaet</i>	1409	<i>bigaet</i> (etc.)
733	<i>fraehraedae</i> = <i>praepropera</i>	<i>fraehraedae</i>	1633	<i>fraehraeðe</i>
741	<i>-ludgaet</i> = <i>-seudoterum</i>	<i>-ludgaet</i>	1538	<i>-ludgæt</i>
783	<i>edscaept</i> = <i>palingenesean</i>	<i>edscaept</i>	1488	<i>edscaeft</i>
814	<i>forslaegen</i> = <i>profficta</i>	<i>forslaegen</i>	1662	<i>forslaegen</i>
830	<i>hunaegaep̄l</i> = <i>pastellas</i>	<i>-aep̄l</i>	1512	<i>-aep̄p̄l</i>
848	<i>hraebn̄es foot</i> = <i>quinquefolium</i>	<i>hræfn̄es-</i>	1697	<i>hraefn̄es-</i>
915	<i>anhaebd</i> = <i>suspensus</i>	<i>anhæbd</i>	1947	<i>ahæfd</i>
939	<i>faetmaendi</i> = <i>sinuosa</i>	<i>faedm̄endi</i>	1862	<i>faeðm̄endi</i>
1002	<i>uuraec</i> = <i>torq...</i>	<i>uuraec</i>	2033	<i>uuraec</i>
1040	<i>uuinaern</i> = <i>taberna</i>	<i>-aern</i>	1983	<i>-aern</i>
1071	<i>waeffsas</i> = <i>uespas</i>	<i>uuaeps</i>	2098	<i>uuaefsas</i>

So also in 5 glosses in which the value of *-ae-* is not certain:—

Ep. 75	<i>staefn̄endra</i> † = <i>alternantium</i>	Erf. <i>staefnen-</i>	Cp. 126	<i>staefn̄endra</i>
		<i>dra</i>		
864	<i>gistaebn̄endrac</i> † = <i>reciprocato</i>	<i>gistaebnen</i>	1721	<i>gestaefnen-</i> <i>dre</i>
87	<i>uuraec</i> = <i>actuaris</i>	<i>uraec</i>	62	<i>wraec</i>
587	<i>haecid</i> = <i>lucius</i>	<i>haecid</i>	1247	<i>haecid</i> ‡
840	<i>aehrian</i> = <i>quisquiliae</i>	<i>ægrihan</i>	1696	<i>aegnan</i> §

Epinal and Erfurt have *-ae-* = *æ¹* in 2 glosses which are wanting in Corpus:—

Ep. 400	<i>hraen</i> = <i>flustra</i> (etc.)	Erf. <i>raen</i>
407	<i>fæcilae</i> = <i>fax</i>	<i>faecile</i>

Epinal and Corpus have *-ae-* = *æ¹* in 2 glosses:—

Ep. 489	<i>scaeptloan</i> = <i>hastilia telorum</i>	Cp. 1005	<i>scaeptloan</i>
1070	<i>steupfaedaer</i> = <i>uitricius</i>	(Erf. <i>staupfotar</i> )	2124 <i>steopfæder</i>

So also in 3 glosses where Erfurt has *-a-*:—

Ep. 416	<i>aesc</i> = <i>fraximus</i>	Erf. <i>aaste</i>	Cp. 920	<i>aesc</i>
474	<i>smael</i> = <i>gracilis</i>	<i>smal</i>	992	<i>smel</i>
742	<i>hraed</i> = <i>percitus</i>	<i>hrad</i>	1539	<i>hraed</i>

† These words have *æ¹* in all probability. In other texts there occur forms which seem to point to *e²*.

‡ Perhaps a contamination of *hacod* and \**hecid* (: O.H.G. *kehhit*).

§ Probably related to Goth. *ahana*.

|| Cf. also the doubtful form Ep. Erf. 962 *staeg* = *stagnum*.



Erfurt and Corpus have 8 examples of  $-ae- = \text{æ}^1$  in the glosses wanting in Epinal † :—

Erf. 255	<i>uaeps</i> = cabro	Cp. 603	<i>waefs</i> (etc.)
273	<i>faegen</i> = campos	543	<i>faegen</i>
285	<i>hraebn</i> = corax	553	<i>hraefn</i>
298	<i>gręsgro(e)ni</i> = carpassini	393	<i>graes-</i>
336	<i>gedębin gebil</i> = debita pensio	648	<i>gedaebeni-</i>
353	<i>araebndae</i> = expendisse	776	<i>araef (n)de</i>
367	<i>stęb</i> (etc.) = exito	785	<i>endistaeb</i>
385	<i>bęcdermi</i> = exta	801	<i>baec-</i>

Examples of  $-e- = \text{æ}^1$  are however not wanting. Epinal, Erfurt and Corpus agree in 9 glosses :—

Ep. 6	<i>teblae</i> = alea	Erf. <i>tefil</i>	Cp. 110	<i>tebl</i>
7	<i>teblere</i> = aleator	<i>teblere</i>	111	<i>teblere</i>
11	<i>reftras</i> = amites	<i>reftras</i>	150	<i>reftras</i> (etc.)
106	<i>sceptloun</i> = amentis	<i>sceptloun</i>	156	<i>sceptloun</i>
172	<i>tebelstan</i> = calculus (etc.)	<i>tebil-</i>	349	<i>tebl-</i>
178	<i>teblith</i> = cotizat	<i>teblith</i>	497	<i>tebleth</i>
633	<i>lebil</i> = manile	<i>lebil</i>	1269	<i>lebil</i>
894	<i>lerb</i> = scirpea (etc.)	<i>lebrae</i>	1804	<i>lebr</i>
995	<i>lebil</i> = triplia	<i>lebil</i>	2045	<i>lebl</i>

In 1 gloss Epinal and Erfurt have  $-e-$  against Corpus  $-ae-$  † :—

Ep. 558	<i>mera</i> = incuba (etc.)	Erf. <i>merae</i>	Cp. 1111	<i>maere</i>
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In 3 glosses Epinal has  $-e-$  against Erfurt and Corpus  $-ae-$  :—

Ep. 604	<i>huet</i> = licidus §	Erf. <i>huaet</i>	Cp. 1223	<i>huæt</i>
744	<i>forsleginum</i> = profligatus	<i>faerlslaeg-</i> <i>mum</i>	1637	<i>forslaege-</i> <i>num</i>
1058	<i>cebęrtuun</i> = uestibulum	<i>caeber-</i>	2094	<i>caebr-</i>

† Cf. also the doubtful form Erf. 269 *haeth* = calomacus, Cp. 383 *haet*.

‡ Cf. also Ep. 535 *a(n)slegaengrae* = inpactae, Erf. *aslegenræ*, where Cp. (1096) has *onligenre*. Here also possibly belongs Ep. 541 *unaseddae* = inopinum, Erf. *unasettæ*, Cp. 1102 *unasaedde*, but the word may have *i-umlaut*.

§ If Sweet's explanation (p. 481) is right; I do not know the Latin word.

|| The Epinal form is possibly due to *i-umlaut*, cf. p. 62 n.

In 15 glosses Erfurt has *-e-* against Epinal and Corpus *-ae-* :—

Ep. 124	<i>hraebrebletae</i> = bicoca	Erf. <i>hebre-</i>	Cp. 294	<i>haebre-</i>
136	<i>staebli drae</i> = ballista	<i>steb-</i>	263	<i>staef-</i>
523	<i>r(a)eb sid uuaes</i> = interceptum est	<i>repsit-</i>	1084	<i>raef sit-</i>
526	<i>raef sed</i> = interpellari	<i>ref set</i>	1087	<i>raef sit</i>
549	<i>in maeth lae</i> = in curia	<i>-med læ</i>	1110	<i>-mae ð le</i>
572	<i>haecilae</i> = lacerna (etc.)	<i>hec ile</i>	1169	<i>haec ile</i>
642	<i>uuael reab</i> = manubium	<i>uuel-</i>	1277	<i>wael-</i>
740	<i>haecilae</i> = paludamentum (etc.)	<i>hec æ li</i>	1474	<i>haec ile</i>
772	<i>aesc</i> = praxinus	<i>esc</i>	1651	<i>aesc</i>
908	<i>staer</i> = sturnus	<i>stern</i>	1911	<i>staer</i>
913	<i>haegt is</i> = strigia	<i>hegt is</i>	1913	<i>haegt is</i>
930	<i>maestun</i> = sabinabant	<i>mestun</i>	1782	<i>maestun</i>
1006	<i>aespae</i> = tremulus	<i>esp æ</i>	2048	<i>aespe</i>
1017	<i>baest</i> (etc.) = tilio	<i>best</i>	2022	<i>baest</i>
1042	<i>faestin</i> (etc.) = termofilas †	<i>festis</i>	2006	<i>fæ(s)ten</i>

In one gloss (511, wanting in Corpus) Epinal has *-ae-* (*araepsid* = intercaeptum) against Erf. *-e-* (*arepsit*).

In one gloss Corpus has *-e-* against Epinal and Erfurt *ae-* :—

Ep. 592 *baers* = lupus                      Erf. *baers*                      Cp. 1251 *bre(r)s*

but *-e-* may be =  $\bar{e}$  with lengthening before *r* + consonant. Cf. North. (Lind.) *gers* ‡.

Note. Corpus has *-ae-* against Ep. Erf. *-a-* in 968 *spaeren*, Ep. 460 *sparaen*, Erf. *sparen*; 1370 *haeb ern* = nepa, Ep. 684 *hab ern*, Erf. *hafern*; so also in 379 *haebrn* against Erf. 258 *hafaern*.

B. Erfurt II., III. contain two examples of *-ae-* =  $\text{æ}^1$  :—

1154 *scaer* = bemer                      1158 *scaes* = buris

and four examples of *-e-* =  $\text{æ}^1$  :—

1106 *nefern* = cancer                      1141 *tebleri* (etc.) = aleator  
1137 *rendegn* = aeditus templi (etc.)                      1142 *tefil* = alia

† Cf. also Ep. 660 *haec id* = mugil, Erf. *hec id*, Cp. 1342 *haeced* (cf. p. 99).

‡ There are two other doubtful cases of Cp. *-e-* against Erf. (Ep.) *-ae-* : 34 *etspe* = abies, Ep. 37 *saepae*, Erf. *sepe*; 619 *lepeuince* = cucuzata, Erf. 264 *laepaeuince* (for *hlæpewince* ?).

C. Corpus has 67 clear cases of *-ae-* etc. =  $\text{æ}^1$  :—

25 <i>raece</i> = rastrum	1054 <i>aetweosendne</i> = imminente
32 <i>scaer</i> = uomer	1068 <i>raepsung</i> = interceptio
33 <i>haeselhwutu</i> = abelena	1082 <i>ręfsde</i> = intercept
118 <i>spaerhabuc</i> = alietum	1123 <i>gegaelen</i> = incantata
140 <i>fostorfaeder</i> = altor	1194 <i>lehtfaet</i> = lanterna
167 <i>aetgaere</i> = ansatae	1295 <i>gefaested</i> = macilentus
183 <i>fraetgengian</i> = apotasia	1318 <i>haet</i> = mitra
191 <i>winfaet</i> = apotheca	1365 <i>ferescaet</i> = nabulum
202 <i>aespe</i> = arbutus	1441 <i>staeb</i> = olastrum
204 <i>faestin</i> = arx	1462 <i>gehaeplice</i> = ordinatus
205 <i>waegneþixl</i> = archtoes	1482 <i>deadraegelum</i> = palearibus
230 <i>fraefeli</i> (etc.) = astu	1494 <i>faedra</i> = patruus
241 <i>aeldra faeder</i> = auus	1495 <i>faedran sunu</i> = patruelis
274 <i>dael</i> = baratrum	1497 <i>naegl</i> = paxillum (etc.)
300 <i>steopfaeder</i> = bitricius	1510 <i>faeðm</i> (etc.) = passus
366 <i>craet</i> = carcura (i.e. carruca)	1555 <i>bið slaegen</i> = percellitur
372 <i>waeterðrum</i> = canalibus	1565 <i>slaegen</i> = percellitur
431 <i>fraefeleo</i> = calleo	1574 <i>hraed</i> = perpes
477 <i>goodaeppe</i> = citonium	1605 <i>ymb ðæt</i> = plus minus
512 <i>gegaedradon</i> = compactis	1675 <i>hraeðe</i> = propero
711 <i>oð ðaet</i> = eatenus	1718 <i>slaec</i> = reses
732 <i>slaece</i> = egra	1741 <i>getael</i> = rima
759 <i>haegtis</i> (etc.) = erenis	1745 <i>staeðsu(u)alwe</i> = ripariolus
772 <i>haehtisse</i> = eumenides	1778 <i>haeb</i> = salum
809 <i>araefndun</i> = exigebant	1802 <i>stae(r)blind</i> = scotomaticus
839 <i>ætgero</i> = falarica	1875 <i>faeðm</i> = sinus
859 <i>waefs</i> = fespa	1942 <i>ouuaestm</i> (etc.) = surculus
864 <i>graes</i> = fenum	1946 <i>geuuetfaestae</i> = subarrata
881 <i>wæ(g)nfearu</i> (etc.) = fiscalis reda	2061 <i>naescum</i> = tractibus
945 <i>haehtis</i> = furia	2109 <i>wægn</i> = ueniculum
958 <i>aeðile</i> = generosus	2156 <i>naegl(speru)</i> = unguana
988 <i>faethm</i> = gremen	2157 <i>fægen</i> = uoti compos (etc.)
1032 <i>hlaestscip</i> = honeraria	2165 <i>waetercruce</i> = urciolum †
1043 <i>þaectigilum</i> = imbricibus	

† To these may be added 579 *raednisse* = concussionibus, if this stands for *hraed-* (but cf. Bede C. gloss 75 *rædnis* = pernicitas). Further *-ae-* =  $\text{æ}^1$  is more or less probable in 997 *gręf* = graffium, 1311 *scraeb* = merga (cf. O.N. *skarfr*), 1479 *raecedlic* = palatina (perhaps a compromise form between *recid*, *reced* and \**racud*: O. Sax. *rakud*), 1526 *aegnan* = paleae (cf. p. 99), 1769 *spraec* = sarmentum (possibly for *spaec*, cf. O.H.G. *spahha*, *spacho* but see also Bosworth-Toller, p. 903 b); 1148 *in beçe* = in catamo. Another possible case is 1624 *huuæl* = procax. The following glosses are obscure :— 858 *maere* = faecce, 1529 *reodnaesc* = partica, 1618 *scæbe* = poleo.



On the other hand Corpus has 8 cases of *-e- = æ¹* :—

145 <i>sceptog</i> = ammentum	484 <i>schohnegl</i> = clauus caligaris
193 <i>lebel</i> = aquemale	549 <i>gegederung</i> = conpagem
217 <i>uuyndecreft</i> = ars plumaria	1823 <i>leber</i> (etc.) = scirpea
399 <i>heber</i> = caper	1993 <i>blesum</i> = tedis

probably also 881 *gebillicum-* = *fiscalis-* (cf. p. 135 n.) and perhaps 190 *geþrec* = *apparatum*.

From the evidence given above the following conclusions may legitimately be drawn :—

1. The change of  $æ¹ > e$  was known to Archetype I. though the spelling *-ae-* was usually kept.

2. The use of *-e- = æ¹* has been extended both in Epinal and in Erfurt, especially the latter.

3. There is not sufficient evidence to show that the use of *-e- = æ¹* has been extended in Corpus in glosses derived from Archetype I.

4. The change  $æ¹ > e$  is known to Corpus in glosses not derived from Archetype I.

That  $æ¹$  and *e* had really fallen together is shown by the fact that *-ae-* occurs several times for  $e¹$  :—Ep. 842 *uuaega* against Erf. *uuegi*, Cp. (1700) *wega*; Ep. 793 *uuaegbradae* against Erf. Cp. (1601) *uueg-†*; Erf. 862 *cæle* = *rostrum*, Cp. 1748 *caeli* against Ep. *celae*; Erf. 303 *aebordrotae* = *colicum* against Cp. 558 *eoburthrothe*; Erf. 728 *saegaesetu* = *promaritima* against Ep. *saegesetu*, Cp. 1631 *saegeseotu*; Cp. 2050 *saes* = *transtrum* against Ep. Erf. 1021 *ses‡*. The last case is remarkable in view of (3) above. It is best perhaps to attribute the *-ae-* to Archetype I. and to regard *ses* as a

† Cf. Ep. 508 *hlaeodrindi* against Erf. *hleodendri*, Cp. 1065 *hleoprendi*.

‡ Forms of *basu* and *mattuc* (:W. *matog*) are omitted from the preceding lists on account of the great difficulties which they present. Their occurrences in the glossaries are as follows :—

Ep. 411 <i>baeso</i> = <i>fenicia</i>	Erf. <i>beoso</i>	Cp. 877 <i>beosu</i>
716 <i>bru(u)nbesu</i> = <i>ostriger</i>	<i>-besu</i>	1469 <i>beosu</i>
565 <i>mettocas</i> = <i>lagones</i>	<i>mettocas</i>	
586 <i>mettocas</i> = <i>ligones</i>	<i>metocas</i>	1211 <i>meottucas</i>
878 <i>mettocas</i> = <i>rastros ligones id</i>	<i>metticas</i>	1709 <i>mettocas</i>
1003 <i>maettoc</i> = <i>tridens</i>	<i>mettoc</i>	2047 <i>meottoc</i>

What is the explanation of *-eo-* in the Corpus forms and in Erf. 411?

correction of Archetype II. In 862 also the *-ae-* probably comes from Archetype I, *-e-* being a correction of Epinal.

ii. *e*<sup>2</sup>.

A. There are 21 clear cases of *-e- = e*<sup>2</sup> common to all three texts:—

Ep. 69	<i>hindberig = acinum</i>	Erf. <i>hindbergen</i>	Cp. 59	<i>hindberiae</i>
91	<i>aferidae (etc.) = auehit</i>	<i>aueridae (etc.)</i>	246	<i>aferide (etc.)</i>
168	<i>cetil = caccabum</i>	<i>cetil</i>	346	<i>cetil</i>
182	<i>uuilucscel = conquiliu</i>	<i>-scel</i>	499	<i>-scel</i>
191	<i>gissetae = condidit</i>	<i>gissete</i>	505	<i>gesette</i>
204	<i>arectae = concesserim</i>	<i>arectae</i>	523	<i>arecte</i>
243	<i>bedd = culcites</i>	<i>bedd</i>	610	<i>bed</i>
441	<i>goduuebb = fasces</i>	<i>-uueb</i>	827	<i>-uueb</i>
467	<i>ferhergend = grassator</i>	<i>ferhergend</i>	990	<i>forher- gen(d)</i>
542	<i>ba gissetan = inditas</i>	<i>-gissetan</i>	1103	<i>-gesettan</i>
569	<i>egisgrima = larbula</i>	<i>egisi-</i>	1168	<i>egis-</i>
602	<i>hebild = liciatorium</i>	<i>hebild</i>	1219	<i>hebelgerd</i>
702	<i>nettae = oligia</i>	<i>nectae</i>	1437	<i>nettae</i>
707	<i>-giset(t)an = ordinatissimam</i>	<i>-girettan</i>	1458	<i>-gesettan</i>
790	<i>berecorn berendae = ptysones</i>	<i>berecorn-</i>	1677	<i>berecorn-</i>
862	<i>neb (etc.) = rostrum</i>	<i>neb (etc.)</i>	1748	<i>neb (etc.)</i>
919	<i>herebaecon = simbulum</i>	<i>herebecon</i>	1873	<i>herebenc</i>
942	<i>ansuebidum = sopitis</i>	<i>ensuebitum</i>	1882	<i>onsuebdum</i>
962	<i>meri (etc.) = stagnum</i>	<i>meri</i>	1921	<i>mere</i>
971	<i>bed = spatula</i>	<i>bed</i>	1899	<i>bed</i>
1026	<i>uueb = telum</i>	<i>uueb</i>	2004	<i>web</i>

*-e- = e*<sup>2</sup> is probable also in the following glosses:—

Ep. 147	<i>edisc = broel</i>	Erf. <i>edisc</i>	Cp. 324	<i>edisc (etc.)</i>
148	<i>ediscueard = broelarius</i>	<i>ediscuard</i>	325	<i>ediscueard</i>
714	<i>edischaen = ortigomera</i>	<i>edischenim</i>	1460	<i>edischen</i>
506	<i>suedilas = instites</i>	<i>suedilas</i>	1060	<i>sueðelas</i>
925	<i>durhere = sualdam</i>	<i>durhere</i>	1948	<i>durhere</i>
1053	<i>duerheri = valba</i>	<i>durheri</i>	2075	<i>durheri †</i>

† Possibly also in Ep. Erf. 143 *begir = bucina*, Cp. 266 *beger = baccinia*; for *berge*?

There are 3 cases in Epinal and Erfurt in glosses wanting in Corpus :—

Ep. 73	<i>bisceredae</i> = addicauit	Erf. <i>bisceridae</i>
443	<i>restaendum</i> (etc.) = feriatīs	<i>restendum</i>
781	<i>ilugsegg</i> = papilius	<i>ilugseg</i> (Cp. 1487 <i>wiolucscel</i> )

further 8 cases in Erfurt and Corpus in glosses wanting in Epinal :—

Erf. 251	<i>sech</i> = carix	Cp. 371	<i>secg</i>
294	<i>huetistan</i> = cox	555	<i>huet(e)stan</i>
350	<i>cetil</i> = enunum	749	<i>cetil</i>
352	<i>hindbrere</i> = erimio	758	<i>hindberge</i>
376	<i>scel</i> (etc.) = echinus	716	<i>scel</i>
388	<i>poedibergæ</i> = elleborus	736	<i>woedeberge</i> (etc.)
395	<i>egdae</i> = erpica	761	<i>egðe</i>
396	<i>egderi</i> = erpicarius	762	<i>egðere</i>

On the other hand Erfurt has *-ae-* = *e<sup>2</sup>* in 3 glosses against Ep. Cp. *-e-* :—

Ep. 219	<i>eordrēstae</i> = caum(e)unia	Erf. <i>eordraestae</i>	Cp. 360	<i>eordrēste</i> †
745	<i>cebisae</i> = pelices	<i>caebis</i>	1540	<i>cebise</i>
1030	<i>uu(e)b</i> = textrina	<i>uuēb</i>	2005	<i>webb</i>

Corpus has *-ae-* in one gloss against Ep. Erf. *-e-* :—

Ep. 463	<i>segg</i> = gladiolum	Erf. <i>secg</i>	Cp. 977	<i>saecg</i>
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probably also *-ae-* = *e<sup>2</sup>* in 1102 *unasaedde* (cf. p. 100 n.).

In one gloss Erfurt has *-a-* (doubtless an error) against Ep. Cp. *-e-* :—

Ep. 618	<i>geregnodae</i> = mendacio con- posito	Erf. <i>geradno- dae</i>	Cp. 1301	<i>geregna- (de) ‡</i>
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C. Corpus has 39 clear cases of *-e-* = *e<sup>2</sup>* :—

39	<i>wereth</i> = abiget	151	<i>oemsetinne</i> (etc.) = amtes
50	<i>ecg</i> (etc.) = acies (etc.)	315	<i>meresuin</i> = bacarius
99	<i>ellende</i> (etc.) = afiniculum	405	<i>cetil</i> = caldaria
139	<i>receo</i> = alligeo	464	<i>secggescere</i> (etc.) = cicad

† This case is not quite safe, since *ræst* occurs elsewhere also.

‡ In Ep. 561 *caelith* = infridat, Erf. *cælid*, Cp. 1119 *kaelið* *-ae-* denotes not *e<sup>2</sup>* but *æ<sup>2</sup>*, *ka-* having been restored in place of *čæ<sup>1</sup>* before the operation of *i*-umlaut.



509 <i>bergan</i> = corimbos	1416 <i>uuitsetnis</i> = obiectus
560 <i>scellum</i> = concis	1430 <i>egide</i> = occabat
593 <i>musclan scel</i> = conca	1456 <i>celiwearte</i> = oripilatio
606 <i>hegas</i> = crates	1457 <i>heldiobul</i> (etc.) = orcus
795 <i>gestin(c)cum</i> = exilia	1478 <i>settan</i> = pastinare
818 <i>arehtun</i> = expraesserunt	1487 <i>wiolucscel</i> = papiliuus (cf. p. 105)
821 <i>hergiung</i> = expeditio	1604 <i>setin</i> = plataria
824 <i>herenis</i> = fauor	1646 <i>reccileas</i> = praefaricator
854 <i>gerested</i> = feriatuus	1702 <i>egiðe</i> = raster
1017 <i>woidiberge</i> = helleborus	1851 <i>onsuebbað</i> = sepeliant
1219 <i>hebelgerd</i> = liciatorium	1864 <i>meremenin</i> = sirinia
1232 <i>hebeld</i> = licium	1881 <i>suebbo</i> = sopio
1233 <i>hebeldðred</i> = licia	1971 <i>herebæcun</i> = symbulum
1333 <i>heorotberge</i> = mora	2038 <i>godwuebbe</i> = toga
1365 <i>ferescaet</i> = nabulum	2168 <i>netlan</i> = uerticeta
1415 <i>ongen sette</i> = obiecte	

-e- = e<sup>2</sup> is probable also in the two following glosses:—

831 <i>wedel</i> (for <i>sweðel</i> ) = fascias	911 <i>here</i> = fornaculum †
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On the other hand there are 4 clear cases of -ae- = e<sup>2</sup>:—

582 <i>slaegen</i> = conlisio	720 <i>asaecgan</i> = edissere
626 <i>waecg</i> = cuneus	1231 <i>waebtaeg</i> = linea

-ae- = e<sup>2</sup> is probable also in

812 <i>wraeccan</i> = extorres	833 <i>suaeðila</i> = fasciarum
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It is clear that e<sup>2</sup> was generally expressed by -e- in Archetype I. On the other hand it is possible in view of the Corpus evidence that -ae- = e<sup>2</sup> was occasionally preserved both in Archetype I. and in the other sources of Corpus. If so it must have been preserved from earlier texts, which would seem to have been written at a time when e<sup>2</sup> and e<sup>1</sup> had not yet fallen together. The absence of such forms in Epinal is however somewhat against this hypothesis, at least with regard to Archetype I. No importance can be attributed to the Erfurt forms on account of the frequent confusion of æ<sup>1</sup> (etc.) and e in this text (cf. pp. 101, 103).

† Possibly also -e- = e<sup>2</sup> in the mutilated gloss 1519 *olectendra* = pal-pantum. Other doubtful cases are 409 *heden* = casla, 564 *scelle* = concisium.

iii. *a* before *l* + consonant.

The only example of breaking in the glossaries is Ep. 713 *fealga* = *occas*, a gloss apparently peculiar to Epinal (but cf. Cp. 1427 *faelging* = *occa*). Elsewhere *-a-* is universal (cf. Dieter, p. 7 f.).

iv.  $\text{æ}^2$ .

A. There are 4 cases of *-æ-* ( $\text{æ}$ ,  $\text{e}$ ) =  $\text{æ}^2$  common to all three texts:—

Ep. 454	<i>blestbaelg</i> = <i>follis</i>	Erf. <i>-baelg</i>	Cp. 910	<i>-baelg</i>
546	<i>bitui(c)n aeldrum</i> = <i>inter primores</i>	<i>-aeldrum</i>	1107	<i>-aeldrum</i>
561	<i>caelith</i> = <i>infridat</i>	<i>caelid</i>	1119	<i>kaelið</i> (cf. p. 105 n.)
718	<i>aelbitu</i> = <i>olor</i> (etc.)	<i>ebitu</i>	1439	<i>aelbitu</i>

In 2 glosses Erfurt has *-e-* against Ep. Cp. *-æ-*:—

Ep. 769	<i>unamaelti sperbi</i> = <i>pice</i> (etc.)	Erf. <i>cinamelti-</i>	Cp. 1581	<i>unamaelte-</i>
838	<i>ohaelði</i> = <i>pendulus</i>	<i>oheldi</i>	1572	<i>oheldi</i> †

B. There is one example of *-æ-*:—

Erf. 1155 *cucaelf* = *baccula* (etc.) (cf. Cp. 2145).

C. There are 13 examples of *-æ-* =  $\text{æ}^2$ .

Cp. 28	<i>bloestbaelg</i> = <i>sublatorium</i>	1427	<i>faelging</i> = <i>occa</i> ‡
30	<i>aelbitu</i> = <i>tantalus</i>	1645	<i>afael</i> = <i>praecipita</i>
241	<i>aeldra faeder</i> = <i>auus</i>	1855	<i>aeldra</i> = <i>senior</i>
677	<i>aelding</i> = <i>dilatio</i>	2065	<i>ae(l)den</i> = <i>trident</i>
934	<i>taelg</i> = <i>fucus</i> (etc.)	2144	<i>caelf</i> = <i>uitulus</i>
1147	<i>hindcaelf</i> = <i>inulus</i>	2145	<i>cucaelf</i> = <i>uitula</i> §
1385	<i>faelging</i> = <i>naualia</i> (i.e. nou-)		

*-e-* =  $\text{æ}^2$  occurs in the mutilated form 303 *herbid* = *biperitum*.

† Ep. 1079 *elm* = *ulmus*, Erf. *elm*, Cp. 2149 *elm*, probably has  $e^1$  (Germ. *e*) in spite of O.N. *almr* (cf. O.H.G. *elmboum*).

‡ Cf. Kluge Wb.<sup>5</sup>, p. 103 b.

§ The obscure form 697 *ascaeltte* = *disoluerat* is perhaps another example.

There is no ground for supposing that  $-e- = \text{æ}^2$  occurred in Archetype I., but the evidence is of course too scanty to permit of a definite statement that the change  $\text{æ}^2 > e$  was unknown †.

v. *o*.

With the exception of one gloss, viz. Ep. 712 *onettae* = occupavit, Erf. *onete*, Cp. 1425 *onette*, Epinal has *-a-* uniformly. In Corpus on the other hand *-o-* is much more frequent than *-a-* (cf. Dieter, p. 9 f.), while in Erfurt *-a-* and *-o-* are about equally distributed. The representation of *-o-* may not perhaps be a matter of great importance for deciding questions of date and dialect; yet it seems worth while to give an analysis of the forms occurring in A, for I think that this affords a criterion for estimating the comparative trustworthiness of Epinal and Erfurt in reflecting the forms of Archetype II. In accordance with the principles laid down on p. 97, it might reasonably be supposed that the variation between *-a-* and *-o-* in Erfurt and Corpus has been inherited from Archetype I., the consistent *-a-* of Epinal being an innovation. Such a supposition however is not borne out by the analysis. The occurrences are as follows:—

9 glosses have *-a-* in all three texts:—

Ep. 170 <i>ambras</i> = cados	Erf. <i>ambras</i>	Cp. 347 <i>ambras</i>
183 <i>wulfes camb</i> = camellea	- <i>camb</i>	355 - <i>camb</i>
244 <i>haam</i> = camisa	<i>haam</i>	370 <i>ha(a)m</i>

† The word *edwelle* has been omitted from the above lists on account of the perplexing variety of forms which it presents. Its occurrences in the glossaries are as follows:—

Ep. 1019 <i>eduella</i> = toreum	Erf. <i>eduelli</i>	Cp. 2034 <i>eduuuella</i>
1068 <i>edwalla</i> = uertigo	<i>edwalla</i>	2096 <i>eduuelle</i>

Cp. 137 *edúuelle* = alueum, 908 *edwelle* = fortex, 1798 *eduuelle* = scylla. Possibly this variation may be due to a confusion of two originally distinct stems *\*wellōn-* (cf. O.H.G. *wella*) and *\*wallia-*, *\*wallian-*. It is perhaps worth noticing that *well-* occurs twice in the Psalter beside more frequent *waell-* etc. Cf. O.E.T. p. 541 b.



Ep. 490	<i>asuand</i> = hebesceret	Erf. <i>ansuand</i>	Cp. 1013	<i>asuand</i>
501	<i>hama</i> (etc.) = inluuies secundarum	<i>hama</i> (etc.)	1049	<i>hama</i> (etc.)
644	<i>granae</i> = mustacia	<i>granæ</i>	1343	<i>granae</i>
825	<i>camb</i> = pecten	<i>camb</i>	1564	<i>camb</i>
839	<i>mand</i> = qualiis	<i>mand</i>	1689	<i>mand</i>
866	<i>ambect</i> = rationato	<i>ambaet</i>	1706	<i>ambaect</i>

4 glosses have *-a-* in Erfurt and Corpus (lost in Epinal):—

Erf. 370	<i>an landae</i> = euertigo (etc.)	Cp. 769	<i>-lande</i> (etc., see below)
377	<i>anseot</i> = extentera	791	<i>ansceat</i>
380	<i>handmitta</i> = exagium	793	<i>andmitta</i>
382	<i>candelthuist</i> = emunctoria	745	<i>candeltuist</i>

One gloss has *-a-* in Epinal and Corpus (wanting in Erfurt):—

Ep. 222	<i>mand</i> = cofinus	Cp. 532	<i>mand</i>
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One gloss has *-a-* in Epinal and Erfurt:—

Ep. 915	<i>anhaebd</i> = suspensus	Erf. <i>anhæbd</i> (Cp. 1947 <i>ahaefd</i> ) †
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In 15 glosses Epinal and Erfurt have *-a-* against Corpus *-o-*:—

Ep. 41	<i>holthana</i> = acega	Erf. <i>holtana</i>	Cp. 54	<i>holthona</i>
43	<i>anga</i> = aquilium	<i>anga</i>	192	<i>onga</i>
59	<i>hramsa</i> = actula	<i>hramsa</i>	56	<i>hromsa</i>
60	<i>hramsa crop</i> = acitelum	<i>hramsa-‡</i>	57	<i>hromsan-</i>
91	<i>an uueg aferidae</i> = auehit	<i>an-</i>	246	<i>on-</i>
419	<i>ganot</i> (etc.) = fulix	<i>ganot</i> (etc.)	936	<i>gonot</i> (etc.)
427	<i>suamm</i> = fungus	<i>suamm</i>	938	<i>suom</i>
576	<i>uannan</i> (etc.) = liuida (etc.)	<i>uannan</i> (etc.)	1215	<i>wonnan</i> (etc.)
645	<i>handful beouwas</i> = manticum	<i>handful-</i>	1278	<i>hondful-</i>
700	<i>suan</i> = olor	<i>suan</i>	1436	<i>suon</i>
770	<i>angseta</i> = pustula	<i>angreta</i>	1682	<i>oncgeta</i>
870	<i>framadoenre</i> = remota	<i>fram-</i>	1724	<i>from-</i>
872	<i>andleac</i> = reserat	<i>andleac</i>	1725	<i>onlaec</i>
885	<i>bredipannae</i> = sartago	<i>-bannæ</i>	1762	<i>-ponne</i>
1036	<i>asuand</i> = tabuisset	<i>assuant</i>	1981	<i>asuond</i>

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-a-* against Corpus *-oe-* (error?).

Ep. 187	<i>ambechtae</i> = conlatio	Erf. <i>ambechtae</i>	Cp. 501	<i>oembecht</i>
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† Another possible case is Ep. 1042 *anstigan* (etc.) = termofilas, Erf. *anstiga* (etc.). Sweet takes *an-* = *ān-*.

‡ *o* written over the first *-a-*, cf. Sweet, ad loc.

In 2 glosses Erfurt has *-a-* against Cp. *-o-* (lost in Epinal):—

Erf. 361	<i>stanc</i> = exaltauit	Cp. 782	<i>stonc</i>
370	<i>an landae</i> = euertigo (etc.)	769	<i>on-</i>

In 6 glosses Epinal and Corpus have *-a-* against Erfurt *-o-* :—

Ep. 4	<i>brandrad</i> = andeda	Erf. <i>brondrad</i>	Cp. 157	<i>bran(d)rod</i>
193	<i>mand</i> = corben	<i>mondi</i>	511	<i>mand</i>
202	<i>anmod</i> = contumax	<i>onmod</i>	521	<i>anmood</i>
418	<i>uuananbeam</i> = fusarius	<i>uuanan-</i>	935	<i>wanan-</i>
1073	<i>amprae</i> = uarix	<i>omprae</i>	2077	<i>ampre</i>
1076	<i>ambaer</i> = urna	<i>ombar</i>	2166	<i>amber</i> †

In 2 glosses (3 examples) Corpus has *-a-* against Erf. *-o-* (lost in Epinal) :—

Erf. 337	<i>hondgong</i> = deditio	Cp. 649	<i>handgand</i>
357	<i>bigongum</i> = exercitus	779	<i>bigangum</i>

In 19 glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-o-* against Epinal *-a-* :—

Ep. 5	<i>fyrpannae</i> (etc.) = arula	Erf. <i>-ponne</i> (etc.)	Cp. 208	<i>-ponne</i>
51	<i>an ba halbae</i> = altrinsecus	<i>on-</i>	121	<i>on-</i>
71	<i>fraam</i> = acris	<i>from</i>	60	<i>from</i>
126	<i>hand(u)yrp</i> = briensis	<i>hond-</i>	320	<i>hond-</i>
146	<i>hran</i> = ballena	<i>hron</i>	267	<i>horn</i>
153	<i>randbeag</i> = buculus	<i>rond-</i>	335	<i>rond-</i>
167	<i>ham</i> = colobium	<i>hom</i>	494	<i>hom</i>
188	<i>sandae</i> = commeatos	<i>sondae</i>	502	<i>sonde</i>
424	<i>uorhana</i> = fasianus	<i>-hona</i>	830	<i>-hona</i>
520	<i>anhriosith</i> = ingruerit	<i>onhrisit</i>	1077	<i>onhrioseð</i>
624	<i>gespan</i> = murica (etc.)	<i>gespon</i>	1336	<i>gespon</i>
704	<i>aeggimang</i> = ogastrum	<i>-gimong</i>	1435	<i>-gimong</i>
732	<i>scamu</i> = pudor	<i>scoma</i>	1679	<i>scomo</i>
846	<i>aec þan</i> = quinetiam	<i>-don</i>	1695	<i>-ðon</i>
946	<i>framlicae</i> = strenue	<i>fromlicae</i>	1917	<i>fromlice</i>
987	<i>brand</i> = titio	<i>brond</i>	2018	<i>brond</i>
1014	<i>wand</i> = talpa	<i>uوند</i>	1973	<i>wond</i>
1045	<i>uandaewui(o)rpae</i> = talpa	<i>uوندæ-</i>	1975	<i>wonde-</i>
1095	<i>huuanan huuoega</i> = undecunque	<i>huuonan-</i>	2155	<i>huonān-</i>

In 2 glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-o-* (lost in Epinal):—

Erf. 320	<i>se oritmon</i> = dromidarius	Cp. 708	<i>-eorodmon</i>
394	<i>gebles monung</i> = exactio	813	<i>-monung</i>

† Cf. Kluge, Wb.<sup>5</sup> p. 85 b. *ǣ-* must have been retained in English.

In 2 glosses Corpus has *-o-* against Epinal *-a-* (lost in Erfurt):—

Ep. 112	<i>uulanclicae</i> = adrogantissime (Erf. <i>gelplih</i> )	Cp. 85	<i>wlonclice</i>
784	<i>holopannae</i> = patena	1489	<i>-ponne</i>

To these may be added:—

Ep. 32	<i>ansueop</i> = atflarat	Erf. <i>asueus</i> (?)	Cp. 235	<i>onsueop</i>
535	<i>a(n)slegaengrae</i> = inpactae	<i>aslegenræ</i>	1096	<i>onligenre</i>

Also 2 glosses in which Erfurt has *-e-*:—

Ep. 923	<i>ambaer</i> = situla	Erf. <i>ember</i>	Cp. 1859	<i>omber</i>
942	<i>ansuebidum</i> = sopitis	<i>ensuebitum</i>	1882	<i>onsuebdum</i>

In 2 glosses Erfurt has *-o-* in forms which do not appear in Epinal or Corpus:—278 *ordoncum* (etc.) = commentis (cf. Cp. 545), 1044 *-ond-* = *-et-* (cf. the Epinal forms). The additional gloss in Cp. 769 *on laste* (beside *on lande*, cf. p. 109) is peculiar to Corpus.

The totals (omitting Ep. Erf. 1042 and the additional gloss in Cp. 769) are as follows:—

Ep. <i>-a-</i> 58	Erf. <i>-a-</i> 32	Cp. <i>-a-</i> 23
<i>-o-</i> 1	<i>-o-</i> 33	<i>-o-</i> 45 †

Now if the variation between *-a-* and *-o-* in Erfurt and Corpus had been derived from Archetype I., we should expect that the examples in the two texts would coincide. But it has been shown that such is not the case. Thus corresponding to the 32 examples of *-a-* in Erfurt we find in Corpus 13 *-a-* and 17 *-o-* (1 *-oe-* and 1 *-a-* for *-an-*); again corresponding to the 32 examples of *-o-* in Erfurt (omitting 712 where all three texts have *-o-*), we find in Corpus 21 *-o-* and 9 *-a-* (the remaining two being peculiar to Erfurt). Archetype II. may have had a few examples of *-o-* but it is evident that in the great majority of the Erfurt cases the change from *-a-* to *-o-* has been made independently. The following conclusions may therefore be drawn: 1. Epinal reproduces the forms of Archetype II. more faithfully than Erfurt. 2. The changes introduced in Erfurt are due in part to its English original; for the substitution of *-o-* for *-a-* cannot

† Forms with *a-* (for *an-*, *on-*), *-e-*, *-oe-* are likewise omitted.



be attributed to the carelessness or ignorance of a continental scribe. When therefore other changes are found with tolerable frequency (e.g. the substitution of *-e-* for *-ae-*, cf. p. 101), these must not be dismissed forthwith as errors of the copyist. Such substitutions as *-p-* for *-þ-* and *-w-* stand of course on an entirely different footing.

vi. *æ*<sup>5</sup> (cf. p. 60).

A. Here also there is a remarkable difference between Epinal and Corpus, the former having usually *-ae-* while in the latter *-e-* is almost universal.

In one gloss all three texts have *-ae-* :—

Ep. 419	<i>dopaenid</i> (etc.)=fulix	Erf. <i>dopaenid</i>	Cp. 936	<i>doppaenid</i> (etc.)
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In 4 glosses Epinal and Erfurt have *-ae-* against Corpus *-e-* :—

Ep. 17	<i>aenid</i> =aneta	Erf. <i>aenit</i>	Cp. 158	<i>enid</i>
484	<i>aemil</i> =gurgulio	<i>aemil</i>	1003	<i>emil</i>
727	<i>faengae</i> =pro captu	<i>faengae</i>	1630	<i>fenge</i>
852	<i>graennung</i> =rictus	<i>graemung</i>	1738	<i>grennung</i>

In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-ae-* (*-e-*) against Erf. *-e-* :—

Ep. 860	<i>lendino</i> =rien	Erf. <i>lendino</i>	Cp. 1740	<i>laendino</i>
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In 13 glosses Epinal has *-ae-* against Erf. Cp. *-e-* :—

Ep. 98	<i>aend suilcae</i> =adqueue	Erf. <i>end-</i>	Cp. 75	<i>end-</i>
203	<i>gimaengiungiae</i> =confussione	<i>gemengiungae</i>	522	<i>gemen- giunge</i>
481	<i>caempan</i> =gladiatores	<i>cempan</i>	984	<i>cempan</i>
515	<i>gigremid</i> =inritatus in rixam	<i>gigremit</i>	1073	<i>gegremid</i>
538	<i>oberuuaenidae</i> =insolesceret	<i>oberuenedæ</i>	1099	<i>oberuue- nide</i>
540	<i>giuuaemmid</i> =infractus	<i>geuemmid</i>	1101	<i>ungeuuem- mid</i>
543	<i>gimaengdae</i> =infici	<i>gimengdæ</i>	1104	<i>gemengde</i>
548	<i>feruuaenid</i> =insolens	<i>feruendid</i>	1109	<i>foruuened</i>
580	<i>graemid</i> =laccessit	<i>gremid</i>	1170	<i>gremið</i>
593	<i>gigraemid</i> =laccessitus	<i>gigremid</i>	1174	<i>gegremid</i>
714	<i>edischaen</i> =ortigomera	<i>-henim</i>	1460	<i>-hen</i>
725	<i>gifraemith</i> =prouehit	<i>gifremit</i>	1629	<i>gefremið</i>
759	<i>gifraemid</i> =profetae	<i>gifremid</i>	1643	<i>gefremid</i>



785 † <i>endistaeb</i> = exito (etc.)	1656 <i>fremid</i> = prouehit
846 <i>wulencu</i> = fastu	1864 <i>meremenin</i> = sirina
1025 <i>naectgenge</i> = hyna	1895 <i>benc</i> (etc.) = sponda
1055 <i>gemenged</i> = infestus	1941 <i>ablende</i> § = suffundit
1172 <i>genge</i> = latrina (etc.)	1957 <i>awenide</i> = suspenderat
1195 <i>gremman</i> = lacessere	2056 <i>geuendit</i> = transfert
1262 <i>lendebrede</i> = lumbulos	2097 <i>seng</i> = uectis
1649 <i>fremmendum</i> = praestante	2106 <i>menen</i> = uernacula‡

Since in A Epinal has altogether 21 clear cases of *-ae-* (*-e-*) against 6 *-e-* (three of the latter being represented by *-ae-*, *-e-* in Erfurt), it seems probable, in accordance with the conclusions arrived at in the last section (p. 111), that, notwithstanding the comparative rareness of *-ae-* in Erfurt (10 against 16 *-e-*), *-ae-* was by far the most frequent type in Archetype II. This seems to harmonise with the unumlauted *-a-* which appears for *-o-*§; while the substitution of *-e-* for *-ae-* in Erfurt harmonises with the substitution of *-o-* for *-a-* (< *o*).

*Note.* It is to be observed that in Epinal *-ae-* appears frequently also in the stem of the Participle Present (*stri-maendi* etc.), though examples with *-e-* are slightly more numerous (cf. Dieter, p. 69, where a list of such forms is given). The appearance of *-e-* for *-æ<sup>5</sup>-* here may be due to the fact that such syllables had only a subordinate accent.

vii. *æ<sup>1</sup>*.

A. In 19 glosses all three texts have *-e-* :—

Ep. 72 <i>setungae</i> = aucapatione	Erf. <i>setungae</i>	Ep. 244 <i>setunge</i>
94 <i>gerlicae</i> = annua	<i>gernlicae</i>	170 <i>gerlice</i>
109 <i>megsibbi</i> (etc.) = affectui	<i>meg-</i>	103 <i>meg-</i>
114 <i>strelbora</i> = arcister	<i>strel-</i>	224 <i>strel-</i>
137 <i>beer</i> = basterna	<i>beer</i>	264 <i>beer</i>
190 <i>resung</i> = coniectura	<i>resung</i>	504 <i>resung</i>

† This gloss belongs strictly to A; cf. Erf. 367.

‡ Probably also 1423 *ogengel* = obex.

§ The relationship of *-ae-* (= *æ<sup>5</sup>*) : *-a-* (< *o*) may be compared with that of *-ae-* (= *æ<sup>2</sup>*) : *-a-* (cf. p. 107).



Ep. 473	<i>grei</i> (etc.) = glaucum	Erf. <i>grei</i>	Cp. 981	<i>grei</i>
492	<i>geberu</i> = habitudines	<i>geberu</i>	1006	<i>geberu</i>
494	<i>thys geri</i> = horno	<i>-geri</i>	1028	<i>-gere</i>
500	<i>gredig</i> = inhians	<i>gredig</i>	1046	<i>gredig</i>
551	<i>redboran</i> = iurisperiti	<i>red-</i>	1160	<i>red-</i>
617	<i>threatmelum</i> = manipulatim	<i>-melum</i>	1265	<i>-melum</i>
640	<i>ormetum</i> = molibus	<i>ormetum</i>	1326	<i>ormetum</i>
737	<i>mere uueard</i> = percrebuit	<i>mere-</i>	1536	<i>mere-</i>
746	<i>leceas</i> = phisillos	<i>leceas</i>	1578	<i>leceas</i>
751	<i>stycimelum</i> = particulatim	<i>-melum</i>	1473	<i>-melum</i>
849	<i>leciuuirt</i> = quiqueneruia	<i>leci-</i>	1698	<i>leci-</i>
910	<i>heringas</i> = sardinas	<i>heringas</i>	1781	<i>heringas</i>
1077	<i>bledrae</i> = uessica	<i>bledrae</i>	2101	<i>bledre</i>

Here also belongs in all probability:—

Ep. 680	<i>unemotan</i> = negotio	Erf. <i>unemo</i>	Cp. 1371	<i>unc(me)tta</i>
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perhaps also:—

Ep. 124	<i>hraebrebletae</i> = bicoca	Erf. <i>-bletae</i>	Cp. 294	<i>-blete</i>
705	<i>t(h)res</i> = oresta	<i>thres</i>	1455	<i>ðres</i>

In another gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-e-* in the same form (wanting in Corpus):—

Ep. 583	<i>thres</i> (etc.) = lembum	Erf. <i>ðres</i>
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In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-e-* against Erf. *-ei-* (cf. p. 117 n.):—

Ep. 885	<i>bredipannae</i> = sartago	Erf. <i>breiti-</i> <i>bannæ</i>	Cp. 1762	<i>brediponne</i>
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In one gloss Epinal has *-ee-* against Cp. *-ei-* (erased in Erfurt):—

Ep. 164	<i>meeg</i> = contribulus	Cp. 495	<i>meig</i>
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In one gloss (lost in Erfurt) Epinal has *-e-* against Corpus *-eg-* (for earlier  $-\bar{e}^1\bar{y}$ ):—

Ep. 9	<i>strel</i> (etc.) = a(u)lea	Cp. 249	<i>stregl</i>
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In one gloss Erfurt has *-e-* (wanting in Epinal and Corpus):—

Erf. 834	<i>fofmetum</i> = pedetemptim etc.
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*-ae-* =  $\bar{e}^1$  never occurs in all three texts in the same gloss.

In 2 glosses Epinal and Corpus have *-ae-* against Erf.  
*-e-* :—†

Ep. 445 <i>blaed</i> =flamma	Erf. <i>bled</i>	Cp. 892 <i>blēd</i>
687 <i>naep</i> =napi	<i>nep</i>	1363 <i>naep</i>

In 2 glosses Epinal has *-ae-* against Erfurt and Corpus  
*-e-* :—

Ep. 796 <i>mið naeðlae (a)siuuid</i> =pictus	Erf. <i>-nedlæ-</i>	Cp. 1591 <i>-nethle-</i>
acu		
1061 <i>oghuaer</i> =uulgo (etc.)	<i>oeghuuer</i>	2173 <i>oeghuer</i>

In one gloss Epinal has *-ae-* against Corpus *-e-* (Erfurt  
*-i-*):—

Ep. 1009 <i>felospraeci</i> =trifulus	(Erf. <i>-sp'ici</i> )	Cp. 2049 <i>-spreci</i>
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In 2 glosses Erfurt has *-ae-* against Epinal and Corpus  
*-e-* :—

Ep. 763 <i>colpred</i> =perpendicularum	Erf. <i>-draed</i>	Cp. 1548 <i>-ðred</i>
800 <i>birednae</i> =prodimur	<i>biraednae</i>	1661 <i>birednae</i>

In one gloss Corpus has *-ae-* against Epinal and Erfurt  
*-e-* :—

Ep. 454 <i>blestbaelg</i> =follis	Erf. <i>blest-</i>	Cp. 910 <i>blaes-</i>
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In one gloss Corpus has *-ae-* against Epinal *-e-* (wanting  
in Erfurt):—

Ep. 89 <i>ethm</i> =adlitus	Cp. 130 <i>aethm</i>
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B. Erfurt II. III. have three examples of *-e-* :—

1104 <i>gregos</i> =anser siluatica	1157 <i>beel</i> =bustum (etc.)
1128 <i>lentibreda sax.</i> =reniculus (for <i>lendi-</i> , cf. Schlütter, Anglia XIX. 478)	

C. Corpus has *-e-* =  $\bar{e}^1$  in 34 glosses :—

66 <i>netl</i> (etc.)=acus	218 <i>healecas</i> =archiatros
98 <i>ebnwege</i> =aequipensum	282 <i>bletid</i> =balatus
146 <i>gredge</i> =ambrones	419 <i>fer</i> =casus
174 <i>el</i> =anguila	865 <i>iserngrei</i> =ferrugine

† In *suae* Ep. 843, 844, 865, Cp. 1691, 1692, 1722 against Erf. *suue* 843, 844 (865 *suuaeldae* is probably an error) shortening may have taken place.

876 <i>ðred</i> = filum	1341 <i>mece</i> = mucro
912 <i>cese</i> = formaticus (etc.)	1448 <i>resigan</i> = opinare
957 <i>gebero</i> = gestus	1521 <i>megcualm</i> = parricidio
967 <i>grei</i> = gillus	1528 <i>stycimelum</i> = passim
994 <i>wearmelum</i> = gregatim	1554 <i>weðl</i> = penuria
1030 <i>þys gere</i> = horno	1594 <i>her</i> = pilus
1051 <i>feringa</i> = inprouisu	1731 <i>heðir</i> = renis†
1085 <i>feringe</i> = insimulatione	1737 <i>resunge</i> = retiunculus
1218 <i>frioletan</i> = libertabus	1790 <i>edmelu</i> = sacra, orgia
1224 <i>frioleta</i> = libertus	1907 <i>strel</i> = stragua
1233 <i>hebeldðred</i> = licia	1986 <i>gierende</i> = taxauerat
1262 <i>lendebrede</i> = lumbulos	2104 <i>frioleta</i> = uernaculus
1298 <i>geuueted</i> = madefacta	2135 <i>gebreded</i> ( <i>flaesc</i> ) = (uiscera)tosta

In the following gloss the Latin is obscure:—

775 *gebero* = exegestus

-e- =  $\bar{e}^1$  is probable also in 1228 *ðres* (etc.) = limbus, 1264 *ðresi* = lyngo, 1829 *goduureci* = sceuum, 2136 *lelan* = uibice; perhaps also in 1818 *uebung* = scena.

In 3 glosses -ei- appears for -e- ( $\bar{e}^1$ )‡:—

728 *deid* = effectum

1331 *eil* = morenula (i.e. mur-)

850 *greig* = feruginius

On the other hand Corpus has -ae- (-e-) =  $\bar{e}^1$  in 4 glosses:—

164 *waede* = antemne ('sails'?)

1852 *spreç* = sermo

633 *suuær* = desis

2083 *aethme* = uapore

So also 1958 *glaeres* = sucini according to Kluge, Wb.<sup>5</sup> p. 140, but it seems equally likely that -ae- here =  $\bar{e}^2$ .

In 2 glosses -oe- appears (perhaps simply mistakes):—

28 *bloestbaelg* = sublatorium (cf. 108 *suoesendo* = agapem  
910)

It is clear -e- must have been the usual type in Archetype I., though a certain number of examples with -ae- were

† But possibly *h-* is a mistake for *a-*.

‡ This is in all probability purely an orthographic variation. It may be due to diphthongal pronunciation of  $\bar{e}$ -, though such an assumption is hardly necessary. Similar cases are found in Northumbrian texts, e.g. *deiri* beside *derorum* (originally diphthongal) in Bede, *neid-* (with *ei* =  $\bar{e}$  <  $\bar{e}^3$ ) in Bede's Death-song.



probably preserved from older documents; so also in the other sources of Corpus †.

viii.  $\bar{æ}^2$ .

A. In 12 glosses all three texts have *-ae-* (*-e-*):—

Ep. 192	<i>obaer(s)taelendi</i> = <i>conuincens</i>	Erf. <i>-stelendi</i>	Cp. 506	<i>-staelende</i>
194	<i>obaerstaelid</i> = <i>conuicta</i>	<i>-staelid</i>	515	<i>staeled</i>
560	<i>firgingaett</i> = <i>ibices</i>	<i>-gaett</i>	1037	<i>-gaet</i>
704	<i>aeggimang</i> = <i>ogastrum</i>	<i>aeg-</i>	1435	<i>aeg-</i>
728	<i>saegesetu</i> = <i>promaritima</i>	<i>sae-</i>	1631	<i>sae-</i>
731	<i>sume daeli</i> = <i>partim</i>	<i>-dæli</i>	1471	<i>-daeli</i>
752	<i>naetendnae</i> = <i>proterentem</i>	<i>naetendnae</i>	1641	<i>naetendne</i>
785	<i>faehit</i> = <i>pingit</i>	<i>faethit</i>	1582	<i>faehit</i>
797	<i>faedun</i> = <i>pangebant</i>	<i>fædum</i>	1504	<i>faedun</i>
845	<i>aengi þinga</i> = <i>quoquomodo</i>	<i>ae(n)gi-</i>	1701	<i>aenge</i>
938	<i>faecni</i> = <i>subsciuum</i>	<i>fae(c)ni</i>	1950	<i>fraecni</i>
1007	<i>haeth</i> = <i>thymus</i>	<i>haedth</i>	2012	<i>haet</i>

Very probably *-ae-* =  $\bar{æ}^2$  also in the following:—

Ep. 499	<i>uura(e)stendi</i> = <i>indruticans</i>	Erf. <i>uraesgendi</i>	Cp. 1045	<i>wraestendi</i>
979	<i>huaeg</i> = <i>seru</i>	<i>huaeg</i>	1847	<i>hwæg</i>

The last gloss is repeated (with additional Latin) in Epinal and Erfurt:—

Ep. 982	<i>huaeg</i> = <i>serum</i> (etc.)	Erf. <i>huuaeg</i>
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In two glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-ae-*, *-e-* (lost in Epinal):—

Erf. 356	<i>auēgdæ</i> = <i>eluderet</i>	Cp. 734	<i>auuægde</i>
366	<i>arēddun</i> = <i>expedier'</i>	784	<i>araeddun</i>

In one gloss Epinal has *-ae-* (wanting in Erfurt and Corpus):—

Ep. 429	<i>aegergetu</i> = <i>fitilium</i>
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† Under  $\bar{æ}^1$  should perhaps be classed certain forms from an obscure stem *blæc-*, *blec-*, 'tetter.' They occur as follows:—

Ep. 139	<i>blec thrustfel</i> = <i>bitiligo</i>	Erf. <i>blec-</i>	Cp. 296	<i>blaec-</i>
1069	<i>blectha</i> = <i>uitilago</i>	<i>blectha</i>	2123	<i>blectha</i>
Cp. 2117	<i>bleci</i> = <i>uitiliginem</i>			

Cp. *bleci* together with the W. Sax. D. sg. *blæce* (frequent in the Leechdoms) seems to point to an earlier N.A. sg. \**blæ<sup>1</sup>ci*. Ep. *blec* etc. are perhaps adjectival forms. It is not likely that these words are related either to *blæc* ('black') or *blāc*. A connection with *φλέγειν* etc. is possible.

In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-ae-* against Erfurt *-a-*:—

Ep. 440 *aetgaeru* = *framea* Erf. *aetgaru* Cp. 922 *ætgaeru* †

In 9 glosses Erfurt has *-e-* against Ep. Cp. *-ae-*:—

Ep. 212 <i>raedinnae</i> = <i>condiciones</i>	Erf. <i>redinnae</i>	Cp. 529 <i>raedenne</i>
403 <i>taenil</i> = <i>fiscilla</i>	<i>tenil</i>	868 <i>taenil</i>
539 <i>baedendrae</i> = <i>impulsore</i>	<i>bedændræ</i>	1100 <i>baeden(d)re</i>
576 <i>-aetrinan</i> = <i>-toxica</i>	<i>etrina(ni)</i>	1215 <i>aetrinan</i>
679 <i>unfaecni</i> = <i>non subsciium</i>	<i>unfecni</i>	1386 <i>unfaecni</i>
681 <i>sc(i)nlaccean</i> = <i>nebulonis</i>	<i>scinlecan</i>	1372 <i>scinlaecan</i>
747 <i>staegilrae</i> = <i>praerupta</i>	<i>stegelræ</i>	1638 <i>staegilre</i>
835 <i>wuraeni</i> = <i>petulans</i> (etc.)	<i>wreni</i>	1569 <i>wraene</i>
1035 <i>raedinnae</i> = <i>taxatione</i>	<i>redinnae</i>	1980 <i>raedinne</i>

C. Corpus has *-ae-* (*-e-*) =  $\bar{a}^2$  in 35 glosses (36 examples):—

81 <i>wraene</i> = <i>ad libidines</i>	1036 <i>hemedo</i> = <i>hymeneos</i>
105 <i>aegmang</i> = <i>agastrum</i>	1120 <i>raesde</i> = <i>inruit</i>
147 <i>yumbsuaepe</i> = <i>ambages</i>	1134 <i>gemē(did)</i> = <i>ineptus</i>
167 <i>aetgaere</i> = <i>ansatae</i>	1397 <i>naenge</i> ( <i>carbeðe</i> ) = <i>nullo</i> ( <i>negotio</i> )
251 <i>haelsadon</i> = <i>auspicantur</i>	1401 <i>smaete gold</i> = <i>obrizum</i>
253 <i>haelsere</i> = <i>augur</i>	1419 <i>folclaemid</i> = <i>obturat</i>
408 <i>lyblaccan</i> = <i>caragios</i>	1433 <i>claemende</i> = <i>offirmaus</i>
490 <i>caeghiorde</i> = <i>clauicularius</i>	1438 <i>aeggimong</i> = <i>olgastrum</i>
548 <i>-dae</i> = <i>-portiuunculas</i>	1444 <i>hael</i> = <i>omen</i>
588 <i>oberstaelid</i> = <i>confutat</i>	1446 <i>forclaemde</i> = <i>opilauit</i>
634 <i>onsaelid</i> = <i>desolutus</i>	1660 <i>heorðsuaepe</i> = <i>pronuba</i>
669 <i>geraedit</i> = <i>degesto</i>	1929 <i>gehnægith</i> = <i>sternit</i>
675 <i>todaeldum</i> = <i>dilotis</i>	1931 <i>astaenid</i> = <i>stellatus</i>
805 <i>haelsent</i> = <i>extipices</i>	1935 <i>aera, aeren scre(op)</i> = <i>strigillus</i>
822 <i>baedde</i> = <i>exactum</i>	2033 <i>gemaeded</i> = <i>uanus</i>
839 <i>ægtro</i> = <i>falarica</i>	2135 <i>-flaesc</i> = <i>uiscera-</i>
926 <i>faecenlicc</i> = <i>fraudenter</i>	2143 <i>u(n)maelo</i> = <i>uirgo</i>
1024 <i>hmaeggiung</i> = <i>hinnitus</i>	

Perhaps also in 1297 *obðænit* = *madidum*, 2112 *faecnum* = *ueterno*.

† Epinal 206 *haetendae* = *calentes* against Erf. *hattendae*, Cp. 357 *hatende* is probably a mistake. The verb seems to have belonged originally to the *ai*-class, cf. O.H.G. *heizēn*. Ep. 544 *taecnaendi* (etc.) = *index*, Erf. *taecnendi* against Cp. 1105 *tacnendi* (etc.) is perhaps a mistake of Archetype II.

On the other hand *-e-* appears in 4 glosses :—

574 *to gelestunne* = comitauere

860 *uuegið* = fefellit

799 *scultheta* = exactor

872 *stictenel* = fiscillus

There is no evidence that *-e- =  $\bar{e}^2$*  occurred in Archetype I. Neither have any substitutions of *-e-* for *-ae-* been made by Corpus in the glosses derived from Archetype I. It is probable therefore that the four cases of *-e- =  $\bar{e}^2$*  which occur elsewhere in Corpus are so copied from older documents and not due to the scribe of Corpus. In Erfurt there has been frequent substitution of *-e-* for *-ae-*. The following gloss seems rather to point to a substitution of *-e-* for *-ae-* (=  $\bar{e}^2$ ) in Archetype II.:—Ep. 610 *men* = laris, Erf. *meu*, Cp. 1183 *meau*, cf. Cp. 135 *meau* = alcido, 955 *me(a)u* = gabea. The form of Archetype II. seems to have been *meu*, probably a mere mistake—not recognised by the scribe of Epinal; the form in the Corpus dialect was clearly *mēaw* < \**m $\bar{e}^2$ w*. In Cp. 955 there may have been an alteration from *-e-* to *-ea*. †.

There is one word which presents great difficulties. It occurs as follows :—

Ep. 221 *haewi* = cerula

Erf. *hawi*

Cp. 444 *heawi*

473 *hēwui* (etc.) = glaucum

*hauui*

981 *heauui-*

Erf. 1152 *hauiblaum* = blata, pigmentum. (Cf. also Leid. 62, 64.)

It is clear that the differences between the three texts are due to deliberate alteration, but I dare not risk a conjecture as to the original forms. The absence of umlaut in the Erfurt and Corpus forms is very curious.

#### ix. *The $\bar{e}a$ -diphthongs.*

The representation of these diphthongs before guttural and palatal consonants requires separate treatment (cf. p. 129 ff.). Otherwise the only fact that needs mention is the absence of

† The N. sg. \**m $\bar{e}^2$ w* seems to have had *-w* restored from the oblique cases and the plural. There is no reason for separating this word from O.H.G. *mēh*, O.N. *mór*, *már*, since \**m $\bar{e}^2$ w* could no more come from \**maiwi-z* than from \**maihiwi-z*. Probably the latter was the original form in all the Germanic languages, in spite of the absence of *i*-umlaut in Old Norse.



any trace of the older forms *-aeo-*, *-aea-*, the spelling *-ea-* being practically consistent †.

x.  $\bar{e}^3$ .

A. In 4 glosses all three texts have *-e-* :—

Ep. 605	<i>githuornae fleti</i> = lectidiela-	Erf. <i>-fleti</i>	Cp. 1205	<i>-flete</i>
	tum ‡			
981	<i>sceolhegi</i> = -strabus (etc.)	<i>sceolegi</i>	1939	<i>scelege</i>
1075	<i>fleti</i> = uerberatrum	<i>fletu</i>	2100	<i>flete</i>
1089	<i>gilebdae</i> = uericundiae concesserim	<i>gilepdae</i>	2080	<i>gilefde</i> §

In one gloss Erfurt and Corpus have *-e-* :—||

Erf. 371	<i>giheldae</i> = exauctorauit	Cp. 788	<i>geheende</i>
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C. In 8 glosses Corpus has *-e-* :—

71	<i>gebegdum</i> = aduncis	1239	<i>anege</i> = luscus
420	<i>ned</i> = casis	1399	<i>eðung</i> = obolitio
605	<i>flete</i> = crama	1558	<i>clifhleþ</i> = pessum
1011	<i>geheres thu</i> = heus	1776	<i>scete</i> (etc.) = sandalium

In one gloss *-ie-* occurs :—

774	<i>alieset</i> = eximet.
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Though the evidence is limited it is clear that  $\bar{e}^3$  was usually represented by *-e-* in Archetype I. and there is no evidence of any change being introduced in any of the texts. There is nothing to prevent us from supposing that the history of  $\bar{e}^3$  was the same as in Northumbrian and the dialect of the Psalter (cf. p. 4 f.); namely that it fell together early with  $\bar{e}^1$  and with it underwent the change to  $\bar{e}$ .

† An archaic form seems to be preserved in Cp. 1117 *genaot* = inquilinis.

‡ Perhaps for lacte iactatum.

§ The Latin is wanting.

|| It is not clear whether Erf. 899 *streidæ* (Ep. *stridae*) = struere, Cp. 1910 *streide* belongs here (with preterite transformed through the influence of the Pres. *strēgan*) or to *stregdan*.

xi. æ<sup>3</sup>.

i. Before *r* + consonant.

A. In one gloss all three texts have *-e-*:—

Ep. 18 *sercae* = armilautia Erf. *sercae* Cp. 210 *serce*

In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-e-* (the Erfurt form being perhaps High German):—

Ep. 730 *gigeruuid* = praetextatus Erf. *gigarauuit* Cp. 1632 *gegeruuid*

In one gloss Erfurt and Corpus have *-e-* (lost in Epinal):—

Erf. 318 *uurgendi* = deuotaturus Cp. 632 *wergendi*

In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-e-* against Erfurt *-ae-*:—

Ep. 186 *heruendlicae* = contemptum Erf. *haeruend-* Cp. 500 *heuend-*

In one gloss Erfurt and Corpus have *-e-* against Epinal *-ae-*:—

Ep. 1091 *auuaerdid* = uitiatum Erf. *auuerdid* Cp. 2131 *awended*

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-e-* against Corpus *-ae-*:—

Ep. 196 *gegeruuednae* = comparantem Erf. *geger-uednae* Cp. 517 *gegaer-wendne*

In one gloss Erfurt has *-e-* against Corpus *-ae-* (lost in Epinal):—

Erf. 373 *fertd* = expeditio Cp. 790 *faerd*

C. In 5 glosses Corpus has *-e-*:—

302 *erdling* = bitorius 810 *ferdun* = expeditionibus

581 *seruuende* = conuenientes 1434 *werdit* = officit

764 *huerbende* = errabiles

Probably also in 2108 *huerb* = uertil (? for uertex), cf. Cot. 59 (Lye) *hwyrfepole* = uorago, syrtis (B. T. p. 576 b).

In one gloss *-ae-* occurs:—

572 *geuaerpte* = conualuit

The rarity of the forms with *-ae-* in C makes it probable that there has been no substitution of *-ae-* for *-e-* in the A glosses of Corpus, but rather that these *-ae-* forms were

taken from Archetype I. It is likely therefore that in Archetype I. there was a variation between *-ae-* and *-e-*. The latter seems to be the natural spelling of *Corpus*.

*Note.* Since breaking before Germ. *z* is found in *mearg* (cf. p. 33): O. Bulg. *mozgŭ* etc., it is probable that *gerd*, *gaerd* (cf. Kluge, *Wb.*<sup>5</sup>, p. 136 a) also contains *-æ<sup>3</sup>-*; the word occurs as follows in the glossaries:—

A.	Ep. 111	<i>segilgaerd</i> =antempna	Erf. <i>-gaerd</i>	Cp. 165	<i>-gerd</i>
	614	<i>toch gerd</i> =lentum uimen	<i>-gerd</i>	1207	<i>-gerd</i>
C.	319	<i>sundgerd</i> (etc.)=bolides,	1219	<i>hebelgerd</i> =liciatorium,	2134
		<i>gerd</i> =uirgultum.			

ii. Before (immediately following) *-χ-*.

*æ<sup>3</sup>* is here very difficult to separate from *æ<sup>4</sup>*.

A. In three glosses all three texts have *-e-*:—

Ep.	187	<i>ambechtae</i> =conlatio	Erf. <i>ambechtae</i>	Cp. 501	<i>oembecht</i>
	49	<i>steeli</i> =accearium	<i>steli</i>	55	<i>steli</i>
	1060	<i>thuelan</i> =uitas	<i>thuelan</i>	2120	<i>thuelan</i> †

In one gloss Erfurt and *Corpus* have *-ae-* against Epinal *-e-*:—

Ep.	866	<i>ambeet</i> =rationato	Erf. <i>ambaet</i>	Cp. 1706	<i>ambaect</i>
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In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-e-* against *Corpus* *-ae-*:—

Ep.	857	<i>nectaegalae</i> =roscinia	Erf. <i>necegle</i>	Cp. 1746	<i>naectegale</i>
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In one gloss Epinal and *Corpus* have *-ae-* against Erfurt *-e-*:—

Ep.	673	<i>naecht(h)raebn</i> =noctua	Erf. <i>nect-</i>	Cp. 1384	<i>naecht-</i>
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In the same gloss Epinal and Erfurt have additional forms, Ep. *nectigalae*, Erf. *nacthegelae*.

In one gloss Erfurt has *-e-* against *Corpus* *-e-* (Epinal being mutilated):—

Ep.	26	<i>nectigalae</i> =achalantis (etc.)	Erf. <i>neçteğela</i>	Cp. 52	<i>nehteğale</i>
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† In the last two cases there has probably been lengthening through loss of *-h-* before *-l-*.



In one gloss Epinal has *-ae-* against Erfurt *-e-* (wanting in Corpus):—

Ep. 674 *naechthraebn* = *nycticorax* Erf. *nethhræbn*

C. In 6 glosses Corpus has *-ae-*:—

1025 <i>naectgenge</i> = <i>hyna</i>	1857 <i>gesca slaet</i> (etc.) = <i>singultat</i>
1257 <i>naectegale</i> = <i>luscinia</i>	1955 <i>waexit</i> = <i>surgit</i>
1431 <i>staeli</i> = <i>oceanium</i>	1991 <i>ʒuaelum</i> = <i>taenis</i>

In one gloss *-ie-* appears, 1135 *forsliet* = *intrinccio*, if this stands for *\*for-slieht*.

I have included forms of *naecht-* in this list chiefly because the corresponding forms in West Saxon have *i*-umlaut. But in some at least of its compounds it is perhaps equally likely that *-ae-* (*-e-*) = *æ*<sup>4</sup>. On the whole it seems probable that *æ*<sup>3</sup> was represented both by *-ae-* and *-e-* in Archetype I., though the former seems to have been the prevailing type. It is worth noticing that while Archetype I. seems to have had *-e-* for lengthened *æ*<sup>3</sup> in two cases, the same sound is represented three times by *-ae-* in C (Cp. 1431, 1857, 1991).

## xii. The diphthongs *ěo* and *ĩu* (*ĩo*).

Sievers (P.B.B. xviii. 414 ff.) has shown that the distinction between the *ěo-* and *ĩu-* diphthongs is in general well preserved in the glossaries.

Since Sievers has given a full list of the forms which occur in Epinal and Corpus, it will not be necessary here to discuss the question at length.

A. According to Sievers Epinal has 23 examples of *-eu-*, *-eo-* < Germ. *eu*, *e*-†. The list is not quite correct: 1099 *sueor* seems to belong to Erfurt, but against this may be put 780 *-steor* which Sievers seems to have omitted. I am also very doubtful about 795, 960 *eorisc*; since the word occurs elsewhere as *earisc*, it seems more probable that it contains *\*æ<sup>4</sup>χu-* (< Germ. *\*aχwa-*) than *\*eχu-*. In one gloss Epinal

† It is worth noticing that in 4 glosses (32, 107, 211, 780) Erfurt has *-eu-* against Epinal *-eo-*. This seems to point to the retention of an archaism.

has *-aeo-*: 508 *hlaeodrindi*. In the corresponding glosses of Erfurt there are no examples of *-io-*, *-iu-*. In the corresponding glosses of Corpus there is one example of *-io-*: 1780 *cniorisse* against Ep. 903 *cneorissa*, Erf. *cneorissae*. On the other hand Epinal has *-io-* for *-eo-* (< Germ. *eu*, *e-*) in 4 glosses; in two of these the confusion is common to all three texts: 696 *criopungae*, Erf. *cr(i)upungae*, Cp. 1405 *cr(i)opunge*; 879 *cnioholaen*, Erf. *cniolen*, Cp. 1759 *cnioholen*. In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-io-* against Corpus *-e-* (regularly, through palatal umlaut, cf. p. 9 f.): 817 *-fliogae*, Erf. *-fli(o)go*, Cp. 1507 *-flege*. In one gloss the mistake is peculiar to Epinal: 1045 *uuandaeuui(o)rpaē*, Erf. *-uuerpe*, Cp. 1975 *-uueorpe*.

Again Epinal has, according to Sievers, 8 examples of *-iu-*, *-io-* < Germ. *iu*, *ĩ-*, besides two doubtful cases. One of the latter (97 *gitiungi*, Erf. *get(o)ing*, Cp. 185 *getiunge*) I feel inclined to admit; contraction seems probable, at least in the Erfurt form, although the reading is not quite safe. On the other hand 12 *flio* (Erfurt and Corpus 112 have the same form) can scarcely be separated from W. Sax. *fleah* (*flēah*?). The relationship may be the same as between *ætġār* and *ætġæru*. In that case *flio* will represent an earlier *\*flē(h)u* < *\*flē<sup>3</sup>χu*. Among the remainder I should prefer to exclude 76 *gihiodum* (Erf. *gaeadun*, Cp. 78 *geodun*) as being etymologically obscure. The other seven seem to be free from objection. The corresponding glosses of Erfurt and Corpus have no examples of *-eu-*, *-eo-*. On the other hand Epinal has *-eo-* for *-io-* (< Germ. *iu*, *i-*) in two cases: 620 *burgleod*, 472 *cleouuae*. The former is wanting in Erfurt, while Corpus (1334) has *-liod* correctly. In the latter case Erfurt has *cleuuue* while Corpus (979) has *clouue*; Sievers does not regard it as a safe example, but the word is probably identical with O.H.G. *kliuwa* (cf. p. 48).

Lastly Epinal has four examples of *-ie-* (as *i*-umlaut of *īo*, *io* according to Sievers). In one of these cases 595 *fierst* the corresponding glosses of Erfurt and Corpus have *-i-* (Erf. *firt*, Cp. 1176 *firsthrof*). In 990 *georuierdid*, Erfurt agrees exactly with Epinal, while Corpus 2042 has *georuuyrde*.

Against 983 *hunhie(ri)* Erfurt has *unhyri*, Corpus 2040 *unhiorde*. Lastly against 933 *orfermae*, Erfurt has *orfermae*, Corpus 1902 *orfeormnisse*.

C. For these glosses it will be sufficient to refer to Sievers (l.c.). The cases in which *-eo-*, *-io-* are wrongly used seem to be slightly more numerous than in the A glosses; one or two of Sievers' examples however might reasonably be doubted.

It is probable therefore: (1) that the confusion was known in Archetype I. (cf. Ep. 696, 879); (2) that it has been extended both in Epinal and Corpus. In all the three texts however it is still quite exceptional.

### xiii. Palatal Umlaut.

The partial appearance of this change in the *ǣ-* (*ǣ̃-*) diphthongs presents a most complicated problem. It will be convenient therefore to begin with the *ě-*, *ĩ-* diphthongs in which the evidence is more consistent.

eo. i. Immediately before *-χ-*.

A. In one gloss all three texts have *-e-*:—

Ep. 738 <i>þorgifect</i> = perduellium	Erf. <i>dorhgife-</i>	Cp. 1537 <i>þorhgefeht</i>
	<i>cilae</i>	

To this may be added in accordance with the theory propounded on p. 19 f. :—

Ep. 1062 <i>suchoras</i> = uitelli	Erf. <i>sueoras</i>	Cp. 2121 <i>sueoras</i>
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In one gloss Erfurt and Corpus have *-e-* (wanting in Epinal) :—

Erf. 349 <i>ceapnext</i> = empticius	Cp. 742 <i>ceapneht</i>
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There are no examples of *-eo-*.

ii. Before *r* + (guttural or palatal) consonant.

A. In 5 glosses all three texts have *-e-*:—

Ep. 132 <i>berc</i> = beta (etc.)	Erf. <i>berc</i>	Cp. 285 <i>berc</i>
686 <i>duerg</i> = nanus (etc.)	<i>duerg</i>	1362 <i>duerg</i>
699 <i>-uerci</i> = opere-	<i>uerci</i>	1450 <i>werci</i>
831 <i>duergaedostae</i> = pulium	<i>duergae-</i>	1686 <i>duerge-</i>
881 <i>thuerhfyri</i> = salebrae	<i>thuerh-</i>	1761 <i>þuerh-</i>



In one gloss Erfurt and Corpus have *-e-* against Epinal *-eo-* :—

Ep. 556 *algiuu(eo)rc* = ignarium Erf. *algiuerc* Cp. 1040 *aalgewerc*

B. In 2 glosses Erfurt has *-e-* :—

1175 *bergas* = colles 1176 *duerh* = humiliamanus

C. In 4 glosses Corpus has *-e-* :—

298 *berc* = bitulus 1426 *baangeberg* = ocreis

1164 *midferh* = iuuentus 1715 *geberg* = refugium

perhaps also in 1994 *duerc* = teter (or for *deurc* ?).

On the other hand Corpus has *-eo-* in 1771 *licbeorg* = sarcofago and *-io-* in 1672 *briostbiorg* = propugnaculum.

iii. Before *l* + consonant ( $\chi$ , *c*).

A. In 2 glosses all three texts have *-e-* :—

Ep. 233 *elch* = ceruus Erf. *elch* Cp. 443 *elh*

1001 *elch* = tragelafbus (etc.) *elch* 2054 *elch*

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-eo-* against Corpus *-e-* :—

Ep. 981 *sceolhegi* = sceuus (etc.) Erf. *sceolegi* Cp. 1939 *scelege*

C. In one gloss Corpus has *-eo-* : *eola* = damma (etc.) after 627 (omitted in O.E.T.), cf. Leid. 139.

$\bar{e}o$ .

A. In one gloss all three texts have *-io-* :—

Ep. 879 *cnioholaen* = ruscus Erf. *cnioleu* Cp. 1759 *cnioholen*

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-io-* against Corpus *-e-* :—

Ep. 817 *buturftiogae* = papilo Erf. *-fti(o)go* Cp. 1507 *-flege*

In one gloss Erfurt has *-eo-* against Corpus *-e-* :—

Erf. 295 *theoh* = coxa Cp. 556 *thegh*

C. In 2 glosses Corpus has *-e-* :—

1194 *lehtfaet* = lanterna 1354 *flege* = musca

On the other hand Corpus has *-eo-* once: 1832 *peohsaex* = semispantium.

*iu* (*io*). i. Immediately before - $\chi$ -.

A. In one gloss all three texts have -*i*- :—

Ep. 10 *fričtrung*=ariolatus Erf. *fričtung* Cp. 196 *frihrung*

C. In three glosses Corpus has -*i*- :

1391 *rihtebr(ed)*=noma (cf. O.E.T. p. 667) 1728 *wrixlindum*=reciprocis  
1736 *uurixlende*=reciprocatu

ii. Before *r* + consonant.

A. In 2 glosses all three texts have -*i*- :—

Ep. 560 *firgingaett*=ibices Erf. *firgin-* Cp. 1037 *firgen-*  
792 *birciaē*=populus *birciaē* 1609 *birce*

iii. Before *l* + consonant.

A. In one gloss all three texts have -*i*- :—

Ep. 628 *milciþ*=morgit Erf. *milcid* Cp. 1323 *milcit*

Here also probably belongs Ep. 781 *ilugsegg*=papilius, Erf. *ilugseg* (Cp. 1487 *wiolucsel*); the word is identical with *eolhxsecg* in the Runic Poem, and that -*u*- is svarabhaktic is shown further by the form *ilcs* in the Alphabet.

C. Corpus has -*i*- in one gloss: *milcit*=mulgit (after 1347, cf. O.E.T. p. 667).

*iu*.

No cases of Germ. *iu* before gutturals or palatals happen to occur. Germ. *ī* (with breaking according to p. 18 f.) occurs in the following glosses :—

A. Ep. 546 *bitui(c)n-*=inter- Erf. *bituichn* Cp. 1107 *bitun*  
1043 *distum*=temonibus *dixlum* 2007 *pixlum*  
Erf. 384 *siid*=excolat Cp. 800 *siid*

B. Erf. 1147 *dixl*=arquamentum

C. Cp. 205 *waegneþixl*=archtoes, 1118 *ðiendi* (etc.)=indolis

probably also in 1310 *bituihn*=mentagra, a gloss which seems to be due to a misunderstanding.

-*i*- is therefore universal except in Cp. 1107 *bitun* which may be due to a change similar to that in *widu* > *wudu* operating before palatal umlaut took place.

It is clear that in the case of these diphthongs the type with palatal umlaut was the prevailing one in Archetype I. Omitting all doubtful cases and glosses which may show contraction through loss of intervocalic -*h*-, we find 13 examples

of *-e-*, *-i-* common to the three texts, besides one (Erf. 349) which is lost in Epinal. On the other hand there is but one gloss with *-io-* which is common to the three texts (Ep. 879), and this is not a safe example in spite of Leid. 127, 250, for the compound may have been re-formed; *cneowholen* is the regular form in later (West Saxon) texts. It is noteworthy that this gloss also has *-io-* for *-eo-*. Epinal and Erfurt have *-eo-* in two glosses against Corpus *-e-*, Epinal once has *-eo-* against Erfurt and Corpus *-e-*, and Erfurt once has *-eo-* against Corpus *-e-* in a gloss lost in Epinal. Corpus always has *-e-*, *-i-* except in the two glosses 1107, 1759, neither of which is a perfectly safe case. It would be rash to assume that the *-eo-*, *-io-* of Epinal and Erfurt represented the forms of Archetype I. in every case better than the *-e-*, *-i-* of Corpus. Palatal umlaut was no doubt a characteristic of the dialect of Corpus, yet in the C glosses 4 examples of *-eo-*, *-io-* have been preserved against 11 of *-e-*, *-i-*. It is also to be noticed that while palatal umlaut always gives  $e < \check{e}$ ,  $i < \check{i}$  ( $\check{i}o$ ), in *fiogae* (as also in *cnioholaen*) the diphthongs are confused; *fiogae* and *flege* are obviously forms of different dialects, but it seems to me just as likely that the latter represents the form of Archetype I. as the former. The *-io-* may be due to Archetype II., as also the *-eo-* in Ep. Erf. 981, Erf. 295, while in 556 it may be no older than Epinal.

*æa.* i. Immediately before *-χ-*.

A. In 2 glosses all three texts have *-æ-* :—

Ep. 13	<i>aex</i> =axis	Erf. <i>aex</i>	Cp. 259	<i>aex</i>
836	<i>aecta(t)h</i> =perpendit	<i>aechtath</i>	1570	<i>æhta</i> ð

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-e-* against Corpus *-æ-* :—

Ep. 928	<i>brectme</i> (etc.)=strepitu	Erf. <i>bretme</i>	Cp. 1916	<i>braechtme</i>
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In one gloss Erfurt has *-a-* against Corpus *-e-* (lost in Epinal) :—

Erf. 326	<i>th(u)achl</i> =delumentem	Cp. 641	<i>ðhuehl</i>
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In one gloss Epinal has *-æ-*, Erfurt *-e-*, Corpus *-æ-* :—

Ep. 555	<i>leax</i> =isic	Erf. <i>lex</i>	Cp. 1155	<i>laex</i>
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In one gloss all three texts have *-ea-* :—

Ep. 247 *leactrocas* = corimbus Erf. *leactrocas* Cp. 540 *leactrogas*

but the word is obscure and is possibly a compound of *lēac*.  
Emendations are suggested by Schlütter, *Anglia*, XIX, p. 113 f.

B. Erfurt contains one example of *-ae-* : 1149 *aex* = axis,  
and probably one of *-e-* : 1167 *echtheri* = censor etc.

C. In 7 glosses Corpus has *-ae-* :—

186 <i>aexfaru</i> = aparatu	896 <i>blodsaex</i> = flebotoma
364 <i>faexnis</i> = capillatur	943 <i>waexcondel</i> = funalia (etc.)
625 <i>saex</i> = culter	1832 <i>þeohsaex</i> = semispatium
767 <i>laex</i> = essox	

perhaps also in 1029 *gelaechtnad* (for *gelaechtrad* ?) = hōctatus,  
though the Latin is obscure. For 1576 *slahae*, cf. p. 139.

Here also may belong some at least of the forms of *naecht-*  
(cf. p. 123 f.). Contraction is found in Cp. 659 *flean* = de-  
globere, 1892 *ear* = spicas; the first vowel before the con-  
traction could be either *æa* (*ea*) or *æ*.

ii. Before *r* + consonant.

A. In 2 glosses all three texts have *-ae-* :—

Ep. 588 <i>maerh</i> = lucanica	Erf. <i>mærh</i>	Cp. 1249 <i>mærh</i>
811 <i>faerh</i> = porcellus	<i>faerh</i>	1616 <i>faerh</i>

In 2 glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-ae-* against Epinal  
*-ea-* :—

Ep. 409 <i>uue(a)rgrōd</i> = furca	Erf. <i>uaerg-</i>	Cp. 930 <i>waergrood</i> (= furcimen)
547 <i>fristmearc</i> = intercapido	<i>-maerc</i>	1108 <i>-maerc</i>

In one gloss Erfurt and Corpus have *-e-* against Epinal  
*-ea-* :—

Ep. 227 <i>mearisern</i> = cauterium	Erf. <i>merisaen</i>	Cp. 362 <i>merciseren</i>
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In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-ea-* (wanting in  
Erfurt) :—

Ep. 652 <i>bearug</i> = maialis	Cp. 1284 <i>bearug</i>
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C. In 5 glosses Corpus has *-ae-* :—

1121 <i>gemaercode</i> (etc.) = <i>inpingit</i>	1772 <i>haerga</i> = <i>sacellorum</i>
1191 <i>baercae</i> = <i>latratus</i>	1827 <i>spærca</i> = <i>scintella</i>
1255 <i>haerg</i> = <i>lupercal</i>	

*-e-* occurs once: 1308 *merg* = *medulla*; *-ea-* once: 153 *meārĥ* = *amilarius* (cf. Schlütter, *Anglia*, XIX. p. 111.)

*āa.*

A. In 2 glosses all three texts have *-ae-* :—

Ep. 64 <i>laec</i> = <i>ambila</i>	Erf. <i>laec</i>	Cp. 154 <i>laec</i> †
846 <i>aec þan</i> = <i>quinetiam</i>	<i>aec-</i>	1695 <i>aec-</i>

In one gloss Erfurt and Corpus have *-ae-*, *-e-* (lost in Epinal) :—

Erf. 265 <i>gęc</i> = <i>cuculus</i>	Cp. 518 <i>gaec</i>
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In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-ae-* against Erfurt *-e-* :—

Ep. 62 <i>hynnīlaec</i> = <i>ascalonium</i>	Erf. <i>-lec</i>	Cp. 229 <i>-laec</i>
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In 2 glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-e-* against Epinal *-ae-* :—

Ep. 16 <i>garlęc</i> = <i>alium</i>	Erf. <i>-lec</i>	Cp. 113 <i>-leec</i>
919 <i>herebaecon</i> = <i>simbulum</i>	<i>-becon</i>	1873 <i>-benc</i>

In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-e-* against Erfurt *-æ-* :—

Ep. 1093 <i>-egan</i> = <i>-oculo</i>	Erf. <i>ægan</i>	Cp. 2133 <i>egan</i> ‡
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In one gloss Corpus has *-e-* against Erfurt *-a-* (lost in Epinal) :—

Erf. 263 <i>iaces sura</i> = <i>calciculum</i>	Cp. 380 <i>ieces surae</i>
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In one gloss Erfurt has *-e-* in a form peculiar to that text :—

Erf. 676 <i>leccressae</i> = <i>nasturcium</i>	(Ep. <i>tuuncressa</i> , Cp. 1359 <i>tuuncressa</i> )
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† Schlütter, *Anglia*, XIX. p. 469 f. suggests *caec*, *ampul(l)a*.

‡ Erf. 316 *aegur* = *dodrans*, Cp. 702 *egur* is obscure; cf. Schlütter, *Anglia*, XIX. p. 471.

In 2 glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-ae-* against Ep. *-ea-* :—

Ep. 153 <i>randbeag</i> =buculus	Erf. <i>rondbaeg</i>	Cp. 335 <i>-baeg</i>
591 <i>leag</i> =lexiua	<i>læg</i>	1175 <i>laeg</i>

In 2 glosses Epinal and Erfurt have *-ea-* against Corpus *-ae-* :—

Ep. 872 <i>andleac</i> =reberat	Erf. <i>andleac</i>	Cp. 1725 <i>onlaec</i>
964 <i>teac</i> =sceda	<i>teag</i>	1821 <i>taeg</i>

In one gloss Epinal has *-ea-* against Corpus *-e-* (the Erfurt form being mutilated) :—

Ep. 813 <i>fleah</i> =pulix	Erf. <i>floc</i>	Cp. 1683 <i>fleh</i>
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In 2 glosses Epinal has *-ea-*, Erfurt *-e-*, Corpus *-ae-* :—

Ep. 63 <i>geacaes surae</i> =accitulum	Erf. <i>gecaes-</i>	Cp. 58 <i>geces</i>
895 <i>bradae leac</i> =serpillum	<i>-lec</i>	1835 <i>-laec</i>

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-ea-* against Corpus *-e-* :—

Ep. 992 <i>sigbeacn</i> =tropea (etc.)	Erf. <i>beanc</i>	Cp. 2043 <i>sigebecn</i>
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B. Erfurt has one example of *-ae-* : 1156 *randbæg* = *bucula*, *umbo*. Cf. also 1101 *acacsore* = *acidus*.

C. In 9 glosses Corpus has *-ae-* :—

19 <i>taeg</i> =mantega	1339 <i>baeg</i> =munila
176 <i>caebora</i> =antulus	1667 <i>haehsedlum</i> =prorostris
448 <i>ynnilaec</i> =cepa	1960 <i>under haehnisse</i> =sub cono
1231 <i>waebtaeg</i> =linea	1971 <i>herebæcun</i> =symbulum
1300 <i>taeg</i> =mantega	

Corpus has *-ea-* in 218 *healecas* = *archiatros* ; probably also in 965 *geac* = *geumatrix* ; *-e-* perhaps in 2010 *tegum* (etc.) = *tehis* (?).

Omitting all doubtful forms the results of this analysis in the A forms may be tabulated as follows: In the short diphthong *æa* (i) before *-χ-* we find in Epinal 1 *ea*, 2 *ae*, 1 *e* ; in Erfurt 2 *ae*, 2 *e*, 1 *a* ; in Corpus 4 *ae*, 1 *e* ; (ii) before *r* + consonant (where perhaps lengthening may have taken place) Epinal has 4 *ea*, 2 *ae* ; Erfurt 4 *ae*, 1 *e* ; Corpus 1 *ea*, 4 *ae*, 1 *e*. In the diphthong *āa* Epinal has 8 *ea*, 5 *ae*, 1 *e* ; Erfurt 3 *ea*, 6 *ae*, 6 *e*, 1 *a* ; Corpus 11 *ae*, 5 *e*. In the C



glosses of Corpus we find:—for *ea* (i), 7 *ae*; for *ea* (ii), 1 *ea*, 5 *ae*, 1 *e*; for *ǣa*, 1 (probably 2) *ea*, 9 *ae*.

The question how far palatal umlaut prevailed in Archetype I. depends obviously on the relative importance attached to the evidence of the three texts. It is difficult for three reasons to resist the suspicion that the number of cases with *-ea-* has been increased in Epinal. 1. There can be no doubt that in the case of the *e-*, *i-* diphthongs the forms with palatal umlaut were in the majority in Archetype I. 2. It is clear also that forms with *-ae-* existed in Archetype I. Now *ǣ* (*ǣ*<sup>4</sup>) can arise by palatal umlaut from *ǣa* but not from *ǣa*. If these forms had been retained by Archetype I. from earlier texts we should rather have expected to find *-aea-*. It does not seem to me very likely that *-ea-* was written for *ǣa*, for *-aea-* is common in early Kentish charters (cf. p. 95). 3. To judge from the C glosses the regular form in Corpus seems to be *-ae-*; the proportion in A is 19 *ae* : 7 *e*, in C 21 *ae* : 1 *e*. This rather points to the presence of *-e-* in an older text†. Lastly it may be mentioned that in Erfurt *-e-* is a rare substitution for *-ea-* (though it occurs occasionally), while for *-ae-* it is exceedingly frequent.

To sum up, I am inclined to think that the number of forms which showed palatal umlaut in Archetype I. was greater than the evidence of Epinal would lead one to believe. Forms with *-ea-* no doubt existed (e.g. probably in *bearug*, Ep. 652), but their number has been increased both by Archetype II. and by Epinal; so also with *-eo-*. At the time when palatal umlaut operated in this dialect the three diphthongs *ǣa*, *ěo*, *ǐu* (*ǐo*) must have remained quite distinct, but it is not unlikely that Archetype I. had examples of *-e-* for *ǣ*<sup>4</sup>. The number of examples of *-ea-*, *-eo-* does not seem to have been increased either by Erfurt or Corpus. The former has, as usual, frequently substituted *-e-* for *-ae-*. In Corpus the regular form for *ǣ*<sup>4</sup> seems to be *-ae-*; the docu-

† The form *eorisc* in Ep. 795, 960 (and the corresponding glosses of Erfurt and Corpus) seems to point to a change of *ǣ*<sup>4</sup> > *e* in the dialect of Archetype I. *earisc* occurs in later texts (cf. B. T. p. 233).

ments from which the C glosses of Corpus were drawn probably contained at least as great a proportion of forms with *-eo-*, *-ea-* as Archetype I.

#### xiv. *Labial and Back Umlaut.*

In regard to the effect produced on *-e<sup>1</sup>*- by a following back or labial vowel there is a remarkable difference between Epinal and Erfurt on the one hand and Corpus on the other. In the two former texts with the exception of one gloss which is not quite clear, Ep. 1064 *geolu*=uenetum, Erf. *geholu*, Cp. 2095 *geolu*, *-e-* is retained consistently. On the other hand in Corpus *-eo-* is more than twice as frequent as *-e-* (cf. Dieter, p. 39 f.), the proportion being about the same in the A and in the C glosses. That this umlaut must have operated at an early period in the dialect of Corpus is shown not only by the consistent appearance of *-e-* (through palatal umlaut) before *-c-*, *-g-*, but also by the presence of *-eo-* in such forms as 751 *beorende*, 1054 *aetweosendne*.

The same is true on the whole in regard to the umlaut of *-i-*, though the proportion of forms with *-i-* in Corpus is somewhat greater. The initial group *wi-* is however (as in early Northumbrian, cf. p. 85 f.) affected by a following *-u-* even in Epinal in one gloss, 430 *uudubil*=falces, but the corresponding gloss in Erfurt has *uuidu-*. Possibly Erfurt has a form of the same kind in 169 *u(u)sklucreud*=coccum bis tinctum, where Epinal has *uuiloc-*. Erfurt has some curious examples of *-y-* in this position: 182 *uuylucscel*=conquilium, Ep. *uuiluc-*, Cp. 499 *wiloc-*; 559 *uuydublindæ*=inuolucu, Ep. *uuidu-*, Cp. 1116 *wudu-*; 347 *uuydumer*=echo, Cp. 715 *wudu-*.

It is difficult to ascertain whether labial umlaut of *-a-* was known in Archetype I. It is clear that *-a-* occurred frequently before *-u-*. On the other hand, *-ea-* occurs only in Ep. Erf. 978 *hreathamus*=stilio uel uespertilio, Ep. 1098 *hreadaemus*, Erf. *hreadam's*=uespertilio. Corpus has in both cases (1924, 2103) *hraeðemuus*. But the etymology of the

word is not clear (cf. *hreremus*), and *-ea-* may be *-ēa-*; Corpus seems to have taken the gloss as two words *hraeðemus*. Greater importance is to be attached to certain forms with *-ae-* which may represent  $\text{æ}^4$  from earlier *æa* by palatal umlaut, as in the dialect of the Psalter. Such forms occur in four glosses.

Ep. 19	<i>haeguthorn</i> = alba spina	Erf. <i>hagudorn</i>	Cp. 114	<i>hea(go)ðorn</i>
	956 <i>haeguthorn</i> = spina alba			1897 <i>haeguðorn</i>
Erf. 321	<i>braedlaestu aesc</i> = dalaturae			703 <i>braadlast- ęcus</i>
Ep. 603	<i>slęgu</i> = lihargum	<i>slęgu</i>		1230 <i>slaegu</i>

The last gloss is obscure and probably corrupt (cf. Schlütter, *Anglia*, XIX. p. 109 f.). In Erf. 321 *-u aesc* may possibly be a mistake for *aecus*, and this form (as also Cp. *ęcus*) may be identical with Ps. *ęcesum* (73. 5) which seems to have  $\text{æ}^4$ . But the identification is scarcely necessary, for originally there seems to have been a stem *\*ak<sup>u</sup>is-* (cf. Goth. *aqizi*) beside *\*akus-*, so that  $\text{æ}^1$  is not impossible. The two remaining glosses probably have a common origin. The existence of *haegu-* beside such forms as (Ep. 629) *ragu* would seem to show that there were dialectic differences in the sources of Archetype I; yet for such a hypothesis there is otherwise surprisingly little evidence. *-ae- = æ<sup>4</sup>* is not however absolutely certain, for in other texts we find *hægðorn* (cf. *hægsteald-* beside *hagustald-*); it is possible therefore that *haegu-* may be due to a confusion of *haeg-* and *hagu-*. In addition to the cases mentioned above, Corpus seems to have an example of *-ae- = æ<sup>4</sup>* in 1559 *ha(e)ca* = pessul against Ep. Erf. 803 *haca*. Corpus has also an example of *-ea-* against Ep. Erf. *-a-* in 1999 *bordðeaca*, Ep. 997 *borohaca* (etc.), Erf. *brodthaca* (etc.) †. Another possible case is 599 *cleadur* = crepacula (etc.) against Ep. 218 *cladur*, Erf. *cledr* (perhaps < *\*kladr*, *\*klædr-*), but the

† The same explanation would be possible in the case of the following forms: 96 *geabuli* = aere alieno against Ep. Erf. 115 *gaebuli*; 648 *-geabuli* = pensio against Erf. 336 *gebil*; 813 *geabules monung* = exactio, against Erf. 394 *gebles-*. But it is more probable on the whole that *geabuli* is due to palatal diphthongisation; the inflection would regularly be *\*ǰaǰl*, *\*ǰæǰlæs* etc.; this has been levelled out by the transformation of *\*ǰaǰl* to *\*ǰabl* (whence *geabul*) etc.



word is obscure. In the C glosses of Corpus there are forms both with *-ea-* and *-ae-* (=  $\text{æ}^4$ ): 283 *reagufinc* = *bariulus*, 665 *onseacon* = *detestare*, 881 *wæ(g)nfeāru* = *fiscalis* (etc.), 914 *geaduling* = *fratuelis*, 1188 *wegat* = *labat*, 1496 *geaduling* = *patruelis*, 2086 *geuue(ada)* = *uada breuia*; 693 *aslaecadun* = *dimisis*, 807 *naec(a)d tunge* = *exerta lingua* and perhaps 317 *hlaegulendi* = *bombosa*, 1853 *rægu* = *sedulium* (cf. also *beosu*, *meottoc*, p. 103). It is very hard to arrive at any definite conclusions on the evidence. The forms with *-ea-* seem to show that labial umlaut had operated to some extent in the dialect of Corpus; this umlaut seems to operate even before guttural consonants. On the other hand the forms with *-ae-* in C are probably copied from earlier texts, in which *-a-* before *-gu-* *-ku-* etc. was treated as in the Psalter.

On the whole it seems probable that labial and back umlaut were very rare in Archetype I. It may reasonably be doubted whether that text contained any examples at all.

#### xv. *Palatal Diphthongisation.*

This occurs rarely and apparently only before back vowels. The following examples are found in the A glosses:—

Ep. 736 <i>uicingsceadan</i> = <i>piraticum</i>	Erf. <i>-sceadae</i>	Cp. 1579 <i>-sceaðan</i>
853 <i>sceaba</i> (etc.) = <i>runcina</i>	<i>sceaba</i>	1755 <i>sceaba</i>
902 <i>sceadu</i> = <i>scena</i>	<i>sceadu</i>	(1801 <i>scadu</i> )
Erf. 991 <i>sceadugeardas</i> = <i>tempe</i>	(Ep. <i>scaedu-</i> )	1998 <i>scaedu-</i> †

In Corpus 1954—*scaedu* seems to have been substituted for *suadu*, which occurs in the other two texts (Ep. Erf. 972). It is probable also that *geabuli* etc. belong here (cf. p. 135 n.).

In the C glosses of Corpus we find 1424 *geocstecca* = *obicula* ‡.

† Epinal seems to have substituted a form with *-ae-* =  $\text{æ}^1$  which may come regularly from *\*skædwa-*.

‡ In such forms as Ep. 203 *gimaengiungiae* = *confusione*, Erf. *gemengiungae*, Cp. 522 *gemengiunge*, Ep. Erf. 792 *birciae* = *populus*, Cp. 183 *fraetgengian* = *apotasia*, the *-i-* is probably used simply to denote the palatal value of *-g-*, *-c-*. That it cannot be compared with O.Sax. *-i-* from Germ. *-j-* (after geminated consonants) is clear from its use in the last syllable of Ep. *gimaengiungiae*.

xvi. *The loss of interior -h-.*

Under this heading it will be convenient to discuss the treatment of *-h-* (< Germ.  $\chi$ ) between vowels, after *r, l* before vowels, and after vowels before voiced consonants. In all these cases the loss of *-h-* is due to the same causes, though the reduction may not have taken place at the same time. The loss of  $-\chi-$  in such forms as Ep. 1043 *dislum* is a different question.

A. In 2 glosses all three texts have *-h-* (including forms in which *-h-* has been transposed or other letters added):—

Ep. 785 <i>faehit</i> =pingit	Erf. <i>faethit</i>	Cp. 1582 <i>faehit</i>
799 <i>nihol</i> =pronus	<i>nihol</i>	1659 <i>nihold</i>

The latter form was originally a compound but was in all probability no longer felt to be such at the time when intervocalic *-h-* was lost. On the other hand in the following three glosses *-h-* may have been restored through the influence of the uncompounded forms, though *dureras* occurs elsewhere:—

Ep. 925 <i>du . rhere</i> =sualdam	Erf. <i>durhere</i>	Cp. 1948 <i>durhere</i>
1053 <i>du(e)rheri</i> =ualba	<i>durheri</i>	2075 <i>durheri</i>
1063 <i>tholicae</i> =uscidae	<i>tochtlicae</i>	2170 <i>tohlice</i> †

In 5 glosses *-h-* is preserved in Epinal and Erfurt, lost in Corpus:—

Ep. 546 <i>bitui(e)n-</i> =inter-	Erf. <i>bituichn</i>	Cp. 1710 <i>bitun</i> ‡
884 <i>furhum</i> =scrobibus	<i>furhum</i>	<i>furum</i> (after 1793, omitted in O.E.T.)
1066 <i>uulohum</i> =uillis	<i>uulohum</i>	2122 <i>uuloum</i>
1080 <i>ryhae</i> =uilliosa	<i>ryhae</i>	2126 <i>rye</i>
1081 <i>linnin ryhae</i> =uilla	<i>-ryhae</i>	2128 <i>ryee</i>

Here also may be mentioned a form with *-h-* after  $-\bar{b}-$ :—

Ep. Erf. 854 <i>flitere</i> in <i>ebhatis</i> =rabulus	Cp. 1705 <i>-eobotum</i>
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† Erf. 326 *th(u)achl*=delumentem, Corpus  $\delta$ huehl probably contain  $-\chi\chi-$ , cf. p. 71 n.

‡ It is possible however that there may have been a form  $-\ast twi\chi\chi n$  originally beside  $-\ast twi\chi n$ . Its origin would be due to the same causes as  $\ast bwæa\chi\chi l$ , cf. p. 71 n.

In one gloss (wanting in Erfurt) *-h-* is preserved in Epinal, lost in Corpus; but the Latin is obscure:—

Ep. 654 *scyhend*=maulistis Cp. 1286 *scyend*

In 3 glosses *-h-* is preserved in Epinal, lost in Erfurt and Corpus:—

Ep. 3	<i>thohae</i> =argillus	Erf. <i>th(o)ε</i>	Cp. 207	<i>thoae</i>
981	<i>sceolhegi</i> =strabus (etc.)	<i>sceolegi</i>	1939	<i>scelege</i>
1062	<i>suehoras</i> =uitelli	<i>sueoras</i>	2121	<i>sueoras</i>

In one gloss (wanting in Corpus) *-h-* is preserved in Epinal, lost in Erfurt:—

Ep. 240 *chyaē*=cornicula Erf. *ciae*

In one gloss *-h-* is preserved in Erfurt, lost in Epinal and Corpus:—

Ep. 1020 *ryae*=tapeta Erf. *hryhae* Cp. 1977 *rye*

In 8 glosses *-h-* is lost in all three texts:—

Ep. 49	<i>steeli</i> =accearium	Erf. <i>steli</i>	Cp. 55	<i>steli</i>
97	<i>gitiungi</i> =apparatione	<i>get(o)ing</i>	185	<i>getiunge</i>
106	<i>sceptloun</i> =amentis	<i>-loun</i>	156	<i>-loun</i>
795	<i>eorisc</i> =paperum	<i>eorisc</i>	1503	<i>eorisc</i>
797	<i>faedun</i> =pangebant	<i>fædum</i>	1504	<i>faedun</i>
881	<i>thuerhfyri</i> =salebrae	<i>-fyri</i>	1761	<i>-fyri</i>
960	<i>eorisc</i> =scirpea	<i>eorisc</i>	1823	<i>eorisc</i> (etc.)
1060	<i>thuelan</i> =uitas	<i>thuelan</i>	2120	<i>thuelan</i>

Probably also in the following gloss:—†

Ep. 12 *flio*=albugo Erf. *flio* Cp. 112 *flio* (cf. *fleah* in Cura Pastoralis)

Indirect evidence for the loss of *-h-* is given also by the following glosses:—

Ep. 610	<i>men</i> =laris	Erf. <i>meu</i>	Cp. 1183	<i>meau</i> (cf. p. 120 n.)
1005	<i>iuu</i> =taxus	<i>iuu</i>	1972	<i>iuu</i> (cf. p. 49 n.)

† I have omitted several words, on the etymology of which I was in doubt, both in A and C. A careful investigation would probably bring other examples of contraction through loss of intervocalic *-h-* to light. The above list is however sufficient to show that the loss of *-h-* was known in Archetype 1.



In one gloss *-h-* is lost in Epinal and Corpus (wanting in Erfurt):—

Ep. 489 *scaeptloan* = *hastilia telo-* Cp. 1005 *scaeptloan*  
rum

In 3 glosses *-h-* is lost in Erfurt and Corpus (wanting in Epinal):—

Erf. 320 *se oritmon* = *dromidarius* Cp. 708 *se eorodmon*  
384 *siid* = *excolat* 800 *siid*  
1099 *sueor* = *uetellus* 2107 *sueor*

B. *-h-* is lost in Erf. 1161 *raa* = *capriolus* and probably in 1114 *sloae* = *fisuras, scisuras*. A possible case of its preservation is 1129 *thrahit* = *ringitur (dic hoo more canum)*.

C. In 2 glosses *-h-* is preserved:—

141 *tahae* = *allox*  
403 *raha* = *capria*

Perhaps also in the obscure gloss 1310 *bituihn* = *mentagra* (but cf. p. 137 n.). In 1960 *under haehnisse* = *sub cono -h-* has probably been restored from *haeh*, cf. *hehnisse* twice in the Psalter, beside the regular *heanis(se)* which seems to show that *-h-* was lost before *-n-* before the operation of palatal umlaut. In 46 *muha* = *aceruus -h-* seems to represent *-3-* since *mugan* occurs elsewhere (cf. O.N. *múgi*). A more certain example of *-h-* = *-3-* is 1576 *slahae* = *pectica*. The forms which occur elsewhere are *slege* and *slæ*. The original forms were no doubt: N. sg. *\*slæʒæ*, A.G.D. sg. *\*slaʒan*; the modern form comes regularly from *\*slæʒæ*, while the Corpus form *slahae* (i.e. *\*slaʒæ*) is a transformation of this through the influence of *\*slaʒan*.

In 13 glosses *-h-* is lost:—

372 <i>waeterðrum</i> = <i>canalibus</i>	1118 <i>ðiendi (etc.)</i> = <i>indolis</i>
218 <i>healecas</i> = <i>archiatros</i>	1234 <i>fil</i> = <i>lima</i>
552 <i>sueor</i> = <i>consobrinus</i>	1431 <i>staeli</i> = <i>oceanium</i>
656 <i>sules reost</i> = <i>dentalia</i>	1892 <i>ear</i> = <i>spicas</i>
659 <i>flean</i> = <i>deglobere</i>	1962 <i>scoere</i> = <i>sutrimator</i>
1033 <i>tolice</i> = <i>huscide</i>	1991 <i>ðuaelum</i> = <i>taenis</i>
1061 <i>niol</i> = <i>infima</i>	

Cf. also 135 *meau* = *alcido*, 955 *me(a)u* = *gabea* (cf. p. 120); 1878 *sur* = *socer* is probably mutilated.

The absolute agreement which exists between all three texts in several glosses (e.g. Ep. 106, 795, 960, 1060) is explicable only on the hypothesis that these forms are faithfully copied from Archetype I. Consequently the loss of *-h-* must have taken place before the compilation of Archetype I., and the forms in which *-h-* was preserved must be due to copying from older documents. On the whole it seems probable that the cases of retention and of omission of *-h-* in Archetype I. were about equal; for even where *-h-* occurs in only one text it is more probable that it has been lost by the other two texts independently than introduced afresh by one. The treatment of *-h-* in the three texts gives valuable evidence as to their comparative trustworthiness in representing the forms of Archetype I. Omitting all doubtful cases (including Ep. 610, 1005) we find in Epinal 12 cases of *-h-* preserved against 9 of *-h-* lost; in Erfurt preserved 8, lost 15; in Corpus preserved 2, lost 21. This analysis confirms the conclusion arrived at on p. 111, namely that Epinal is a more faithful copy of Archetype II. than Erfurt; it may now be added that in one respect at least Archetype II. must have been a far more faithful copy of Archetype I. than Corpus.

It is clear that *-h-* must have been partly retained in the documents from which the C. glosses of Corpus are drawn. So far as one can judge from the materials the proportion of cases in which *-h-* was retained may have been as great as in Archetype I.

xvii. *The representation of medial and final Germanic -f- †.*

A. In 8 glosses all three texts have *-f-* :—

Ep. 142	<i>uuf</i> = bubu	Erf. <i>uuf</i>	Cp. 334	<i>uuf</i> (: O.H.G. <i>ūfo</i> )
150	<i>ce(f)r</i> = bruchus	<i>cefr</i>	326	<i>cefer</i> (: O.H.G. <i>keuar</i> )
183	<i>uulfes camb</i> = camel- lea	<i>uulfes-</i>	355	<i>wulfes</i> (: O.H.G. <i>wolf</i> )

† Cases of *-f-* before voiceless consonants are omitted except where the group has arisen through syncope. All words in which it is doubtful whether *f*, *b* represent Germ. *f* or *þ* are put together on p. 146 f.

Ep. 197	<i>giroefan</i> = cen- sores	Erf. <i>geroefan</i>	Cp. 439	<i>geroefan</i> <i>ruoua</i> )	(cf. O.H.G.)
223	<i>giroefa</i> —commenta- riensis	<i>geroefa</i>	533	<i>geroefa</i>	
1022	<i>scofl</i> = trulla	<i>scolf</i>	2051	<i>scofl</i> }	(cf. O.H.G. <i>scūuala</i> ,
1065	<i>gloedscopl</i> = uatilla	<i>-scofl</i>	2076	<i>-scofl</i> )	Nthl. <i>schoffel</i> )
1046	<i>ofr</i> = tuber	<i>o(f)r</i>	2074	<i>hofer</i> (: O.H.G. <i>houar</i> )	

In the following glosses Erfurt has mistakes which are no doubt due to the continental scribe:—

Ep. 459	<i>hofr</i> = gibbus	Erf. <i>hosr</i>	Cp. 969	<i>hofr</i> (see above)
768	<i>fiſſaldae</i> = papilio	<i>uiualdra</i>	1484	<i>fiſſalde</i> (O.H.G. <i>fiſaltra</i> )

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-f-* (wanting in Corpus):—

Ep. 161	<i>uuf</i> = bufo	Erf. <i>uuf</i>
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B. One gloss has *-f-*:—

Erf. 1134	<i>fiſeldae</i> = spalagius (etc.)
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C. In 5 glosses Corpus has *-f-*:—

230	<i>fraefeli</i> (etc.) = astu (: O.H.G. <i>fravili</i> )	997	<i>grēf</i> = graffium (probably from the same Latin word)
431	<i>fraefeleo</i> = calleo	1259	<i>wulf</i> = lupus (cf. 355)
		1674	<i>geroefan</i> = proceres (cf. 439 etc.)

On the other hand Corpus has *-b-* in 6 glosses:—

48	<i>folcgeroebum</i> = actionaris (cf. 439 etc.)	1483	<i>scoble</i> = palas (cf. 2051 etc.)
214	<i>ceber</i> = arpia (cf. 326)	2011	<i>uicgeroebum</i> = teloniaris (cf. 439 etc.)
1271	<i>obr</i> = margo (cf. Kluge, Wb. <sup>5</sup> p. 385 b)	2081	<i>isernscobl</i> = uatilla (cf. 1483)

xviii. *The representation of medial and final Germanic -b̄.*

A. In 28 glosses all three texts have *-b-*:—

Ep. 7	<i>teblere</i> = aleator	Erf. <i>teblere</i>	Cp. 111	<i>teblere</i> (: O.H.G. <i>zabal</i> < Lat. <i>tabla</i> )
30	<i>sceabas</i> = areoli	<i>scebas</i>	197	<i>sceabas</i> (: O.H.G. <i>scoub</i> )
124	<i>hraebreletae</i> = bicoca	<i>hebre-</i>	294	<i>haebre-</i> (: N.H.G. <i>haber-geiss</i> )
166	<i>clibecti</i> = clibosum	<i>clibecti</i>	478	<i>clibecti</i> (: O.H.G. <i>klep</i> )
172	<i>tebelstan</i> = calculus (etc.)	<i>tebil-</i>	349	<i>tebl-</i> (cf. Ep. 7)
178	<i>teblith</i> = cotizat	<i>teblith</i>	497	<i>tebleth</i> (cf. Ep. 7)
192	<i>obaer(s)taelendi</i> = conuincens	<i>ober-</i>	507	<i>ober-</i> (: O.H.G. <i>ubar, ubiri</i> )



Ep. 194	<i>obaerstaetid</i> = conuicta	Erf. <i>ober-</i>	Cp. 515	<i>ober-</i> (: O.H.G. <i>ubar</i> , <i>ubiri</i> †)
399	<i>bebr</i> = fiber	<i>bebr</i>	867	<i>bebr</i> (: O.H.G. <i>bibar</i> )
405	<i>librlaeppan</i> = fibrae	<i>libr-</i>	873	<i>libr-</i> (: O.H.G. <i>lebara</i> )
421	<i>obtt</i> = fraga	<i>obea</i>	919	<i>obet</i> (: O.H.G. <i>obaz</i> )
468	<i>sceabas</i> = garbas	<i>sceabas</i>	951	<i>sceabas</i> (cf. Ep. 30)
497	<i>uualh(h)ebuc</i> = horo- dius	<i>-haebuc</i>	1016	<i>-habuc</i> (: O.H.G. <i>habuh</i> )
525	<i>gibaen uuaes</i> = in- pendebatur	<i>geben-</i>	1086	<i>geben-</i> (: Goth. <i>giban</i> )
538	<i>oberuuaenidae</i> = in- solesceret	<i>ober-</i>	1099	<i>ober-</i> (cf. Ep. 192, 4)
619	<i>earbeticust</i> = mole- stissimum	<i>easbedlicust</i>	1320	<i>earbeticust</i> (: Goth. <i>ar-</i> <i>baips</i> )
625	<i>nabae</i> = modioli	<i>nebæ</i>	1322	<i>habae</i> (: O.H.G. <i>naba</i> )
633	<i>lebil</i> = manile	<i>lebil</i>	1269	<i>lebil</i> (: O.H.G. <i>label</i> )
718	<i>aelbitu</i> = olor (etc.)	<i>gbitu</i>	1439	<i>aelbitu</i> (: O.H.G. <i>albiz</i> )
724	<i>scribun</i> = promulga- runt	<i>scribun</i>	1628	<i>scribun</i> (: O.H.G. <i>scriban</i> )
745	<i>cebisae</i> = pelices	<i>caebis</i>	1540	<i>cebise</i> (: O.H.G. <i>kebisa</i> )
853	<i>sceaba</i> (etc.) = runcina	<i>sceaba</i>	1755	<i>sceaba</i> (: O.H.G. <i>scaba</i> )
854	<i>flitere in ebhatis</i> = rabulus	<i>-ebhatis</i>	1705	<i>-eobotum</i> (cf. Goth. <i>ibuks</i> etc.)
927	<i>eborthrotæ</i> = scasa	<i>ebor-</i>	1816	<i>ebor-</i> (: O.H.G. <i>ebur</i> )
942	<i>ansuebidum</i> = sopitis	<i>ensuebitum</i>	1882	<i>onsuebdum</i> (: O.H.G. <i>int-</i> <i>swebben</i> )
995	<i>lebil</i> = triplia	<i>lebil</i>	2045	<i>lebl</i> (cf. Ep. 633)
1052	<i>eborspreot</i> = uenabula	<i>ebor-</i>	2089	<i>eobor-</i> (cf. Ep. 927)
1057	<i>libr</i> = (Erf. <i>uicatum</i> )	<i>libr</i>	2119	<i>libr</i> (cf. Ep. 405)

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-b-* (wanting in Corpus):—

Ep. 674	<i>naechthraebn</i> = nycticorax	Erf. <i>-hræbn</i>
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In 8 glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-b-* (lost in Epinal):—

Erf. 272	<i>bebir</i> = castorius	Cp. 385	<i>beber</i> (cf. Ep. 399)
293	<i>gabelrend</i> = circinno	469	<i>gabul-</i> (: O.H.G. <i>gabala</i> , <i>gabal</i> )
303	<i>aebordrotæ</i> = colicum	558	<i>eobur-</i> (cf. Ep. 927)
310	<i>uibil</i> = cantarus	398	<i>wibil</i> (: O.H.G. <i>wibil</i> )
319	<i>afyrid obbenda</i> = dromidus	707	<i>-olbenda</i> (: Goth. <i>ulbandus</i> )
322	<i>dobendi</i> = decrepita	638	<i>dobgendi</i> (: M.H.G. <i>top</i> )
336	<i>gedēbin gebil</i> = debita pensio	648	<i>gedaebeni-</i> (: Goth. <i>gadaban</i> )
367	<i>stēb</i> = exito (etc.)	785	<i>-staeb</i> (: Goth. <i>stab-im</i> )

† These two examples are not quite safe, cf. Goth. *ufar*.

In one gloss Erfurt and Corpus have *-b-* against Epinal *-bf-* (no doubt a correction):

Ep. 1010 *nabfogar* = terre- Erf. *naboger* Cp. 2002 *nabogaar* (cf. Ep. 625)  
bellus

In 8 glosses Epinal and Erfurt have *-b-* against Corpus *-f-* :—

Ep. 51	<i>an ba halbae</i> =	Erf. <i>-halbe</i>	Cp. 121	<i>halfe</i> (: Goth. <i>halba</i> )
	<i>altrinsecus</i>			
136	<i>staebli drae</i> =	ballista	<i>steb-</i>	263 <i>staef-</i> (cf. Erf. 367)
577	<i>staebplegan</i> =	ludi lit-	<i>scaeb-</i>	1245 <i>staef-</i> ( „ )
	<i>terari</i>			
635	<i>salb</i> =	malagna	<i>salb</i>	1272 <i>sulf</i> (: O.H.G. <i>salba</i> )
642	<i>uuaelreab</i> =	manu-	<i>-reab</i>	1277 <i>-reaf</i> (: O.H.G. <i>roub</i> )
	<i>bium</i>			
673	<i>naecht(h)raebn</i> =		<i>-hraebn</i>	1384 <i>-hraefn</i> (: O.H.G. <i>raban</i> )
	<i>noctua</i> (etc.)			
880	<i>thebanthorn</i> =	ramnus	<i>theban-</i>	1710 <i>ðeofe</i> :— (: O.H.G. <i>depan-</i> <i>dorn</i> )
931	<i>ha(l)bclungni</i> =	semi-	<i>halb-</i>	1844 <i>half-</i> (cf. Ep. 51)
	<i>gelato</i>			

probably also :

Ep. 864 *gistaebnendrae* = Erf. *-staebnen* Cp. 1721 *-staefnendrae* (cf. Erf. 367?)  
reciprocato

so also according to Sweet (O.E.T. p. 516 b.):

Ep. 630 *thebscip* = mimo- Erf. *thebscip* Cp. 1316 *ðeofscip* (: Goth. *þiubs* etc.  
paro but the Latin word is unknown to me).

In 2 glosses Erfurt has *-b-* against Corpus *-f-* (lost in Epinal) :—

Erf. 285	<i>hraebn</i> =	corax	Cp. 553	<i>hraefn</i> (cf. Ep. 673)
363	<i>erabedlicae</i> =	egre	729	<i>earfedlice</i> (cf. Ep. 619)

In one gloss Epinal has *-b-* against Corpus *-f-* (wanting in Erfurt) :—

Ep. 656	<i>geormantlab</i> (etc.) =	malua	Cp. 1288	<i>gearwan leaf</i> (: Goth. <i>laubos</i> , N. pl.)
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In one gloss Epinal has *-b-* against Erfurt *-p-*, Corpus *-f-* :—

Ep. 1089 *gilebdae* = ueri- Erf. *gilepdae* Cp. 2080 *gilefde* (: Goth. *uslaubjan*)  
cundiae concesserim

In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-b-* against Erfurt *-f-* :—

Ep. 6 *teblae* = *alea* Erf. *tefil* Cp. 110 *tebl*

In 3 glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-f-* against Epinal *-b-* :—

Ep. 52 *faerscribaen* = Erf. *-scrifen* Cp. 69 *-scrifen* (cf. Ep. 724)  
*addictus*  
 848 *hraebnæs foot* = *quin-* *hræfnæs-* 1697 *hraefnes-* (cf. Ep. 673)  
*quefolium*  
 1047 *sinuurbul* = *teres* *sinuulfur* 2008 *siunhuurful* (: O.H.G. *sinhwerbal*) †

so also in all probability :—

Ep. 915 *anhaebd* = *suspensus*, Erf. *anhæbd*, Cp. 1947, *ahaefd* (: *hebban* related to Goth. *hafjan* etc. Two originally distinct (but related) verbs seem to have been confused in English).

In 2 glosses Epinal and Erfurt have *-f-* against Corpus *-b-* :—

Ep. 536 *unofaercumen-* Erf. *unofer-* Cp. 1097 *unober-* (cf. Ep. 192)  
*(rae)* = *indigestae*  
 762 *sifunsterri* = *pliadas* *fun-* 1599 *sibun-* (: Goth. *sibun*)

In one probable case all three texts have *-f-* :—

Ep. 75 *staefnendra* = Erf. *staefnen-* Cp. 126 *staefnendra* (cf. Ep. 864)  
*alternantium* *dra*

In 2 glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-f-* (lost in Epinal) :—

Erf. 300 *uuefl* = *caldica* Cp. 482 *wefl* (cf. O.H.G. *weban*)  
 392 *ifeg* = *edera* 718 *ifegn* (: O.H.G. *ebahewi*,  
*ebawi, ebah*)

In one gloss Epinal has *-f-* (wanting in Erfurt and Corpus) :—

Ep. 1084 *hraefnaes fot* = *quinquefolium* (Cf. Ep. 848)

In one probable case Epinal and Erfurt have *-f-* against Corpus *-u-* :—

Ep. 653 *clofæ* = *mordacius* Erf. *clofæ* Cp. 1327 *clouae* (cf. M.H.G. *klobe*)

† *-b-* over *-f-* in Epinal, cf. Sweet's note ad loc.



In one probable case Epinal and Erfurt have *-u-* against Corpus *-f-* :

Ep. 428 *siuida* = *furfures*, Erf. *siuida*, Cp. 940 *sifūdan* (probably connected with O.H.G. *sib*, cf. Cp. 597, below).

B. Erfurt has *-b-* in two glosses :—

1136 *lebuendi* = *adfectuosus* (etc.)      1141 *tebleri* (etc.) = *aleator* (cf. Ep. 7)  
(: Goth. *liub-*)

Erfurt has also two examples of *-f-* :—

1142 *tefil* = *alia* (cf. Ep. 7)      1155 *cucaelf* = *baccula* (: O.H.G. *kalb*)

C. In 27 glosses Corpus has *-b-* :—

30 <i>aelbitu</i> = <i>tantalus</i> (cf. Ep. 718)	1210 <i>afroebirdun</i> = <i>lenirent</i> (cf. O.H.G. <i>fluobara</i> )
98 <i>ebnwege</i> = <i>aequipensum</i> (: Goth. <i>ibns</i> )	1397 <i>-earbeðe</i> = <i>-negotio</i> (cf. Ep. 619)
179 <i>eobor</i> = <i>aper</i> (cf. Ep. 927)	1413 <i>-lybsn</i> = <i>obligamentum</i> (: Goth. <i>lubja-</i> )
193 <i>lebel</i> = <i>aquemale</i> (cf. Ep. 633)	1441 <i>staeb</i> = <i>olastrum</i> (: Goth. <i>stab-</i> <i>im</i> )
303 <i>herbid</i> = <i>bipertitum</i> (cf. Ep. 51)	1457 <i>-heldiobul</i> = <i>orcus</i> (: Lat. <i>di-</i> <i>bolus</i> )
399 <i>heber</i> = <i>caper</i> (cf. Ep. 124)	1464 <i>eburðring</i> = <i>orion</i> (cf. Ep. 927)
452 <i>tyrb</i> = <i>cespites</i> (: O.H.G. <i>zurba</i> )	1622 <i>unlab</i> = <i>posthumus</i> (cf. Goth. <i>laiba</i> )
597 <i>sibi</i> = <i>crebrum</i> (: O.H.G. <i>sib</i> )	1498 <i>wibl</i> = <i>panpila</i> (cf. Erf. 310)
631 <i>obgibeht</i> = <i>destituit</i> (: Goth. <i>giban</i> )	1694 <i>geeblicadun</i> = <i>quadrare</i> (cf. 98)
658 <i>scriben</i> = <i>decerni</i> (cf. Ep. 724)	1712 <i>gabulrond</i> = <i>radio</i> (cf. Erf. 293)
740 <i>gesuirbet</i> = <i>elimat</i> (: O.H.G. <i>swerban</i> )	1778 <i>haeb</i> = <i>salum</i> (: M.H.G. <i>hap</i> )
764 <i>huerbende</i> = <i>errabiles</i> (: O.H.G. <i>hwarbian</i> )	1930 <i>lybesne</i> = <i>strenas</i> (cf. 1413)
1180 <i>hebenhus</i> = <i>lacunar</i> (: Goth. <i>himins</i> )	2164 <i>stebn</i> = <i>uox</i> (: Goth. <i>stibna</i> )
	2176 <i>loob</i> = <i>ymnus</i> (: O.H.G. <i>lob</i> )

probably also in 2108 *huerb* = *uertil* (cf. O.H.G. *hwarblih*, cf. p. 122); and perhaps in 216 *sibaed* = *arbatae* (cf. Ep. 428), cf. also 376 *caebestr* = *capistrum* (probably from the same word).

In 19 glosses Corpus has *-f-* :—

27 <i>eoforþrote</i> = <i>scisca</i> (cf. Ep. 927)	474 <i>oefsung</i> = <i>circinatio</i> (cf. Goth. <i>ubizwa</i> )
92 <i>efnum</i> = <i>aequatis</i> (cf. 98)	482 <i>owef</i> (etc.) = <i>cladica</i> (cf. O.H.G. <i>wewan</i> )
173 <i>ald wuif</i> = <i>anus</i> (: O.H.G. <i>wip</i> )	489 <i>half</i> = <i>clima</i> (cf. Ep. 51)
281 <i>stofa</i> = <i>balneum</i> (cf. O.H.G. <i>stuba</i> )	699 <i>ofgefen</i> = <i>distitutum</i> (cf. 631)
299 <i>seolfbonan</i> = <i>biothanatas</i> (: Goth. <i>silba</i> )	1147 <i>hindcaelf</i> = <i>inulus</i> (cf. Erf. 1155)

1260 <i>wylf</i> =lupa (: O.H.G. <i>wulpa</i> )	1644 <i>ascufið</i> =praecipitat (cf. Goth. <i>-skiuban</i> )
1499 <i>uuefl</i> =panuculum (cf. Erf. 300)	
1558 <i>clihlep</i> =pessum (cf. Ep. 166)	2016 <i>uuefl</i> =titica (cf. Erf. 300)
1583 <i>cofa</i> =pistrimum (: M.H.G. <i>kobe</i> )	2144 <i>caelf</i> =uitulus (cf. Erf. 1155)
1587 <i>cofincl</i> =pistrilla ( , , )	2145 <i>cuaelf</i> =uitula ( , , )

Cf. also 430 *caefli* = capistro (probably < Lat. *capulum*).

Note. Forms in which the etymological value of *b, f* is uncertain.

A. In 3 glosses all three texts have *-f* :—

Ep. 517 <i>risethyfil</i> =iunge- Erf. <i>-thyfil</i> Cp. 1159 <i>-ðyfel</i> tum		
647 <i>scalfr</i> =mergulus	<i>scalfr</i>	1304 <i>scalfur</i>
996 <i>hrofuuy(r)cta</i> =tig- narius	<i>hrof-</i>	2020 <i>hrof-</i> (: O.N. <i>hróf</i> )

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have *-f* (wanting in Corpus):—

Ep. 609 <i>hrof</i> =lacuna	Erf. <i>hrof</i> (cf. Ep. 996)
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In one gloss Epinal has *-f* (wanting in Erfurt and Corpus):—

Ep. 662 <i>scalfr</i> =mergus (cf. 647)
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In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-f* against Erfurt *-b* :—

Ep. 58 <i>scaldthyfls</i> =alga, Erf. <i>-(t)hyblas</i> , Cp. 128 <i>-hyfls</i>
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In one gloss Erfurt has *-f* against Corpus *-b* (Epinal *-þ*):—

Ep. 613 <i>clifae</i> =lappa	Erf. <i>clifae</i>	Cp. 1184 <i>clibe</i>
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In one gloss Erfurt has *-f* against Corpus *-b* (lost in Epinal):—

Erf. 258 <i>hafaern</i> =cancer	Cp. 379 <i>haebrn</i>
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In 2 glosses Erfurt has *-b* against Corpus *-f* :—

Erf. 250 <i>rede clabre</i> =calta	Cp. 375 <i>clafre</i> (cf. Nthl. <i>klaver</i> )
254 <i>huitti clabre</i> =calesta	377 <i>clafre</i> ( , , )

In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *-b* against Erfurt *-f* :—

Ep. 684 <i>habern</i> =nepa	Erf. <i>hafern</i>	Cp. 1370 <i>haeberrn</i>
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In 4 glosses Epinal and Erfurt have *-b-* against Corpus *-f-* :—

Ep. 179	<i>hualb</i> = con- uexum	Erf. <i>halb</i>	Cp. 498	<i>hualf</i> (: O.N. <i>hualf</i> , O.H.G. <i>welben</i> )
627	<i>scybla</i> = mafortae	<i>scybla</i>	1267	<i>scufla</i> (: O.N. <i>skupla</i> , <i>sky-</i> <i>pill</i> ?)
631	<i>gloob</i> = manica	<i>glob</i>	1268	<i>glof</i>
832	<i>scabfoot</i> = pansa	<i>scaab-</i>	1513	<i>scaf-</i> (: O.N. <i>skeifr</i> )

In 5 glosses all three texts have *-b-* :—

Ep. 115	<i>gaebuli</i> = aere alieno	Erf. <i>gaebuli</i>	Cp. 96	<i>geabuli</i> (: Goth. <i>giban</i> ?)
602	<i>hebild</i> = liciatorium	<i>hebild</i>	1232	<i>hebeld</i> (: M.L.G. <i>hevelte</i> )
757	<i>porch obst</i> = per anti- cipationem	<i>-obust</i>	1546	<i>obst</i> (: O. Sax. <i>ōbast</i> )
864	<i>lerb</i> = scirpea (etc.)	<i>lebrae</i>	1804	<i>lebr</i>
1058	<i>cebertyun</i> = uestibu- lum	<i>caeber-</i>	2094	<i>caebr-</i>

In two glosses Erfurt and Corpus have *-b-* (lost in Epinal) :—

Erf. 336	<i>gedēbin gebil</i> = debita pensio	Cp. 648	<i>-geabuli</i> (cf. Ep. 115)
394	<i>gebles monung</i> = exactio	813	<i>geabules-</i> ( , , )

B. Erfurt has one example of *-f-* :—

1106 *nefern* = cancer (cf. 258)

C. Corpus has *-f-* in 3 glosses :—

- 133 *hyfi* = aluearia (: M.L.G. *huue*, cf. Zupitza, Gutt. p. 128)  
 1956 *sue(f)l sueart* = sulforia (: Goth. *swibls*, O.H.G. *swebal*, *sweual*)  
 2013 *hrof* = tholus (cf. Ep. 996)

*-b-* occurs in 10 glosses ;—

- 645 *seobgendum* (etc.) = querelis (etc.) (cf. M.H.G. *siufzen*, *siuften*, Kluge,  
Wb<sup>5</sup>. p. 347 b.)  
 803 *asuab* = exorbitans (: O.N. *súifa*, cf. O.H.G. *swebēn*, *sweibōn*)  
 881 *gebellicum wa(g)nfearu* = fiscalis reda (cf. Ep. 115)  
 1219 *hebelgerd* = liciatorium (cf. Ep. 602) 1818 *uebung* = scena (: O.H.G.  
*weban*?)  
 1233 *hebeldōred* = licia (cf. Ep. 602) 1823 *leber* (etc.) = scirpea (cf. Ep. 894)  
 1311 *sraeb* = merga (: O.N. *skarfr*?) 1879 *slebescoh* (etc.) = soccus  
 1317 *hlibendri* = minaci



The results of this analysis may be briefly summed up as follows :

1. The representation of Germ. *ð* in A gives valuable evidence in regard to the comparative trustworthiness of the three texts in reproducing the forms of Archetype I. Omitting (Ep.) 75, 428, 630, 653, 864—on which some doubt may reasonably be felt—the statistics for the three texts are as follows: Epinal has 44 *b* against 3 *f* (omitting 1010), Erfurt 49 *b* against 8 *f*, Corpus 40 *b* against 18 *f*. This result confirms the conclusions arrived at on p. 140, namely that Epinal is a more faithful copy of Archetype II. than Erfurt, and that Archetype II. was a very much more faithful copy of Archetype I. than Corpus.

2. There is no evidence that *-b-* was used for Germ. *f* in Archetype I. It is likewise highly improbable that *-f-* was used for Germ. *ð* in more than three or four glosses at the most. Indeed there is not one absolutely certain example. This being so there is every probability that those words in the "uncertain" lists which appear in all three texts with *-f-* or *-b-*, contain Germ. *f* and Germ. *ð* respectively.

3. In the C glosses Corpus has 6 *b* against 5 *-f-* for Germ. *-f-*; 19 *-f-* against 27 *-b-* (omitting doubtful cases) for Germ. *ð*. Since the proportion in the latter case is greater than in the A glosses and since these also contain no examples of *-b-* for Germ. *f*, it is probable that the confusion of Germ. *ð* and *f* in C is partly inherited from older documents. It is noteworthy also that all the examples of *-b-* for Germ. *f* occur in the medial position, while of the examples of *-f-* for Germ. *ð* 9 occur in the final position against 5 *-b-* (including the first members of compounds), while 10 occur in the medial position against 22 *-b-*. This is still more marked in the A glosses: of the 40 occurrences of *-b-* for Germ. *ð*, 39 are in the medial position, only one in the final; of the 18 occurrences of *-f-* 12 are in the medial position, 6 in the final. These statistics seem rather to point to a change of (voiced) *ð* to (voiceless) *f* in the final position beside the change of (voiceless) *f* to (voiced) *ð* in the medial.

xix. *The orthography of the Glossaries.*

For the purpose of determining the age of the three texts and if possible the locality to which the scribes belonged, it is worth while to investigate a few of the points in which the early texts show orthographical differences. Only those glosses which occur in Epinal need be dealt with. In the majority of cases it will be enough to give merely the references.

1. The representation of the sound-group  $-\chi t-$ .

Epinal has altogether 23 examples of  $-ct-$  (including 1093 where  $-o-$  is obviously a mistake for  $-c-$ ), 5 examples of  $-cht-$ , and one doubtful example of  $-ht-$  (936. cf. Sweet, ad loc.). To these correspond in Erfurt (omitting obvious mistakes) 15 examples of  $-ct-$ , 6 of  $-cht-$  and 3  $-ht-$ ; while Corpus has 10  $-ct-$ , 3  $-cht-$ , 13  $-ht-$ . The distribution of these is as follows:—

All three texts have  $-ct-$  in 6 glosses:—85, 166, 204, 247, 868, 999. To these may be added 857 and 866, where Erfurt has  $-c-$  and  $-t-$  respectively.

Epinal and Erfurt have  $-ct-$  against Corpus  $-cht-$  in one gloss: 513. so also in 928 where Erfurt has  $-t-$ .

Epinal and Erfurt have  $-ct-$  against Corpus  $-ht-$  in 5 glosses:—10, 516, 579, 723, 1093.

Epinal and Corpus have  $-ct-$  against Erfurt  $-cht-$  in 2 glosses:—509, 544.

Epinal has  $-ct-$  against Erf.  $-cht-$ , Cp.  $-ht-$  in one gloss:—836.

Epinal has  $-ct-$  against Erf.  $-cht-$  in one gloss (wanting in Corpus): 524. (cf. also 673.); and in one gloss against Erf.  $-th-$ : 674.

In 2 glosses Epinal has  $-ct-$  against Erf., Cp.  $-ht-$ :—155, 996.

In one gloss all three texts have  $-cht-$ : 187.

In 2 glosses Epinal has  $-cht-$  against Erf.  $-ct-$ , Cp.  $-ht-$ :—533, 673.

In one gloss Epinal and Erfurt have  $-cht-$  against Corpus  $-ht-$ : 756.

In one gloss Epinal has *-cht-* against Erf., Cp. *-ht-* : 574.

Corresponding to Ep. *-ht-* in 936 (wanting in Erfurt) Corpus has *-ht-*.

*-ct-* was without doubt the usual representation of this sound-group in Archetype I. *-cht-* may also have been used, but *-ht-* must be regarded as doubtful. The latter was evidently the representation familiar to the scribe of Corpus.

## 2. The representation of *-gg-*, *-ğğ-*.

Epinal has *-gg-* consistently—six examples in all. Corresponding to these Erfurt has 3 *-cg-*, 2 *-g-*, and one *-c-*; Corpus has 2 *-gg-*, 2 *-cg-*, and one *-eg-* (probably a mistake for *-cg-*). The occurrences are as follows:—

In 2 glosses Epinal and Corpus have *-gg-* against Erfurt *-cg-* :—

Ep. 422 <i>sugga</i>	Erf. <i>sucga</i>	Cp. 878 <i>sugga</i>
916 <i>mygg</i>	<i>mycg</i>	1814 <i>mygg</i>

In one gloss Erfurt and Corpus have *-cg-* against Epinal *-gg-* :—

Ep. 463 <i>segg</i>	Erf. <i>secg</i>	Cp. 977 <i>saccg</i>
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In one gloss Epinal has *-gg-*, Erfurt *-c-*, Corpus *-cg-* :—

Ep. 44 <i>earuuigga</i>	Erf. <i>aeruuica</i>	Cp. 240 <i>earwicga</i>
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In one gloss Epinal has *-gg-*, Erfurt *-g-*, Corpus *-eg-* :—

Ep. 966 <i>segg</i>	Erf. <i>seg</i>	Cp. 1786 <i>seeg</i>
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In one gloss Epinal has *-gg-* against Erfurt *-g-* :—

Ep. 781 <i>ilugsegg</i>	Erf. <i>ilugseg</i> (cf. Cp. 1487)
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The two occurrences of *-gg-* in Corpus prevent us from supposing that this is a peculiarity due to the scribe of Epinal. It is more likely also that *-cg-* should have been substituted for *-gg-* than vice versa, for *-cg-* (*-gc-*) is practically universal in other texts. It is probable therefore that in this respect also Epinal has preserved a feature of Archetype I.

## 3. The representation of *-w-*.

In Epinal this sound is most frequently represented by *-uu-* though *-u-* is also used, especially after consonants. In



Erfurt *-u-* is much more frequent than in Epinal. The Runic letter *w* (*wyn*), which is exceedingly frequent in Corpus, occurs only nine times in Epinal. Of the corresponding cases in Corpus 5 have *-w-*, 4 *-uu-*: The representation in Erfurt is as follows:—

Erfurt has *-u-* against Epinal and Corpus *-w-* in 2 glosses:—118, 162.

Erfurt has *-uu-* against Epinal and Corpus *-w-* in 2 glosses:—118, 1014.

Erfurt has *-p-* against Epinal and Corpus *-w-* in one gloss:—173.

Erfurt together with Corpus has *-uu-* against Epinal *-w-* in 2 glosses:—1059, 1071.

Erfurt has *-b-* against Epinal *-w-*, Corpus *-uu-* in one gloss:—1059.

Erfurt has *-u-* against Epinal *-w-*, Corpus *-uu-* in one gloss:—1068.

Erfurt has another example of *p-* in 388 (Cp. 736. *w-*, lost in Epinal). The extraordinarily small number of mistakes in Erfurt seems to point to the absence of *-w-* in Archetype II. Yet it is possible that the English original of Erfurt substituted *-u-*, *-uu-*, for (Runic) *-w-*, and this explanation is favoured by two significant facts: in Ep. 769 *sperþi* (Erf. *spreui*, Cp. 1581 *smeoruue*) the text from which Epinal is copied would seem to have had *-w-†*; but there is no reason to suppose that Epinal is not a direct copy from Archetype II. Another case of the same kind is Ep. 444 *þoot* against Erf. *puoo(d)*. Again in 564 Erfurt has the following gloss: *lepor, subtilitas uel p'uod* (Ep. *uuoþ*, Cp. 1196 *wooð*); the simplest explanation of this is to suppose that the scribe of Erfurt's original first copied *w-* and then wrote *-u-*, perhaps partly erasing the former (cf. also 444 above). The appearance of *uu-* in the corresponding gloss of Epinal suggests that this substitution may have taken place elsewhere also. It is at least remarkable that Epinal has no examples of *-w-* between

† The mistake is easy to understand, for the word had already been rendered unintelligible by the earlier mistake of *-p-* for *-m-*.

173 and 1014. I am inclined therefore to believe that *-w-* was used in Archetype II. and that in some cases (e.g. probably 178, 388, 564) it may have been copied from Archetype I.

4. The use of the Runic letter þ :

This letter is more frequent than (Runic) *w*, though the sound is far more often represented by *-th-* etc. Altogether (omitting 444 and 769 where it is used for *w-*) *-þ-* occurs 19 times. In one gloss (613) it seems to have been substituted for *-b-* or *-f-*. The remaining cases together with the corresponding letters in Erfurt and Corpus are as follows :—

In 10 glosses (11 cases) Epinal has *-þ-*, Erfurt *-d-*, Corpus *-ð-* :—118, 162, 564, 741, 753, 760, 763, 846, 1037 (twice), 1093.

In one gloss Epinal has *-þ-* against Erfurt and Corpus *-ð-* : 542.

In one gloss Epinal has *-þ-*, Erfurt, *-d-* Corpus *-t-* : 628.

In two glosses Epinal and Corpus have *-þ-* against Erfurt *-d-* : 738, 845.

In one gloss Epinal and Corpus have *þ-* while Erfurt simply omits a letter : 532 (Erf. *ingungae*).

The remaining two cases are in 601 : Ep. *þupistil*, Erf. *popistil*, Cp. 1179 *þuðistel*.

The small number of cases in which Corpus has *-þ-* corresponding to Epinal *-þ-* makes it doubtful whether this letter was used in Archetype I., for elsewhere *-þ-* is not rare in Corpus. It is probable that Archetype II. had *-þ-* at least in 532 and 601. The frequent *-d-* of Erfurt is perhaps a substitution for *ð* due to the continental scribe.

5. The use of the letter *-ð-*.

This letter occurs altogether 8 times in Epinal. In 2 cases (754, 838) we find *-d-* in the corresponding glosses of Erfurt and Corpus, but there may have been a sound-change. In one gloss (796) Erfurt has *-d-*, Corpus *-ð-*; in another case in the same gloss Erfurt has *-ð-*, Corpus *-th-*. In one gloss (1039) Erfurt has *-t-*, Corpus *ð-*. In 2 other glosses

(661, 709) Epinal and Corpus have  $\delta$ -; of these the first is wanting in Erfurt, while the second has a mutilated form. Lastly in 707 Epinal has  $\delta$ - against Corpus  $\beta$ -, while in Erfurt the letter is omitted (the Epinal form also being mutilated). There are (besides 796) three occurrences of  $\delta$ - in Erfurt: 456 against Epinal *th*-, Corpus  $\delta$ -; 583 against Epinal *th*-; 997 against Epinal *-d*-. The last two forms do not occur in Corpus.

Since  $\delta$ - is exceedingly frequent in Corpus, the fact that Epinal and Corpus agree in  $\delta$ - in four glosses can prove nothing for Archetype I. It has already been suggested (p. 152) that where Erfurt has *-d*- its English original may often have had  $\delta$ -. The rarity of  $\delta$ - in Epinal however makes it probable that these cases were substitutions (for *-th*-, *-p*-, etc.) made in that text rather than copied from Archetype II. Erfurt has *-d*-,  $\delta$ - beside Epinal  $\delta$ - in only four cases, and all of these are in words which are usually written with *-d*-, three of them representing sounds which underwent a change from  $\beta > d$ . It is likely therefore that in Epinal they denote a voiced spirant.

xx. *The comparative faithfulness of the three texts.*

In order to arrive at a safe conclusion on this question it is necessary to take into consideration only those points of language or orthography which certainly involve the preservation of archaisms and which can not be attributed to dialectic or local peculiarities. Among these six (three linguistic and three orthographical) may be mentioned:—

1. The preservation of interior *-h*-.
2. The preservation of the distinction between Germ. *f* and Germ. *ǃ*.
3. The preservation of the distinction between *æ* and *i* in unaccented syllables.
4. The representation of the sound-group  $-\chi t$ -.
5. The representation of  $-gg$ - (and  $-\check{g}\check{g}$ -).
6. The representation of the sounds *w* and  $\beta$ .



In regard to 1, 2, 4, 5 it has already been shown (pp. 140, 148 ff.) that Epinal is more archaic than Erfurt and that Archetype II. (as inferred generally from the agreement of Epinal and Erfurt) must have been much more archaic than Corpus. In regard to 6 also Corpus shows a less archaic orthography than the other two texts. In regard to 3 it may be mentioned that in inflexional syllables *-e-* (for *æ*, *i*) is much more frequent in Corpus than in either of the other texts; again in the prefix *gi-*, *ge-* Epinal has according to Dieter (§ 29) 40 *gi-* against 14 *ge-*, while Corpus has only one example of *gi-* against over 150 *ge-*.

Where differences of dialect are involved, Corpus may sometimes preserve the forms of Archetype I. better than the other texts. There is some reason for believing that such is the case with regard to palatal umlaut (cf. p. 133). On the other hand in cases where all materials for applying a test are wanting, as e.g. in the representation of *ç* and *œ*<sup>5</sup> (cf. pp. 111, 114), I am inclined to place greater reliance on the evidence of Epinal and Erfurt, especially the former, than on Corpus, in consequence of the greater conservatism displayed in general by those texts.

### xxi. *The age of the Texts.*

1. The date at which the compilation of Archetype I. took place may be conjectured with reasonable probability from its treatment of (intersonantal) Germ. *χ*, *f*, *þ*, as also from certain peculiarities in its orthography. Since intervocalic *-h-* (as also *-h-* before *-l-* etc.) was undoubtedly lost (cf. p. 140), the compilation can scarcely have been made earlier than about 670—680. This is further confirmed by the fact that *ā*<sup>1</sup>, *ā*<sup>3</sup> seem to have been usually expressed by *-e-*. Of course it is possible that the change of *ā*<sup>1</sup>, *ā*<sup>3</sup> > *ē* took place earlier in some dialects than in Northumbrian (cf. p. 23 ff.); yet isolated examples of *-ae-* survive in the earliest Kentish, East-Saxon and Mercian texts (cf. Chart. 1, 4, 13). On the other hand the latest possible date may

be approximately fixed by the treatment of Germ. *-f-*, *-þ-*. It has been shown (p. 148), that the confusion of these sounds was practically unknown in Archetype I. Now in the Moore MS. of Bede (737) Germ. *þ* is in the majority of cases represented by *-f-*: thus *aelf-* III. 1, 24, IV. 21, v. 24, against *aelb-* IV. 26; *gef-* IV. Praef. against *geb-* IV. 12, v. 8; *suef-* IV. 11 against *sueb-* v. 8; so also *gefrin* II. 14, *eafa* III. 24; on the other hand *cnob-* III. 19. In all these cases C agrees with M except in II. 14, IV. 26, IV. Praef., where it has *gebrin elf-*, *gem-* respectively. On the other hand B and N have *-b-* against the *-f-* of M and C in III. 24, IV. 21, *aelb-*, IV. Praef. *geb-*; B also has *eaba* (III. 24) against M *eafa* (cf. also Sweet's note to II. 14). It would seem therefore that Bede himself did not write *-f-* so frequently as M and C appear to indicate. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt that the confusion of *-þ-* and *-f-* had begun during his lifetime. Another example of *-f-* for *þ* which belongs in all probability to a still earlier date is Clerm. *wylif* (cf. p. 24). But there is no reason to suppose that the confusion of *þ* and *f* took place earlier in Northumbrian than in the Southern dialects. For the latter we have during this early period nothing but a few charters, so that the material is very limited; yet in the Mercian-Kentish Chart. 17 (A.D. 742) we find *ecglaf* (cf. *angenlabes* in Chart. 1), while *ofa* in the same Charter is obviously the same name as *oba* in Chart. 9 (A.D. 736). Chart. 2 (assigned by Sweet to 693—731) has *aelf*, but unfortunately the reading seems to be uncertain. Chart. 13 (770) has *alfflaed*; after 800 examples are plentiful. Limited as it is, the evidence is enough to show that by about 730—740 Germ. *þ* and *f* were already confused in all dialects. 720 is therefore the latest probable date for a composition in which these sounds were still kept distinct. This conclusion is fully in harmony with the orthographical evidence. In Chart. 5 (700—715), 6 (732), 7 (740), 9 (736), 17 (742) *-χt-* is consistently represented by *-ht-* (*-htt-*) and so also usually in all subsequent charters; *-ct-* occurs only in Chart. 1 (692, 3), 2 (693—731), 4 (679). It is true that the Moore MS. of Bede writes *-ct-*

consistently, but the Northern orthography is generally conservative; in *Liber Vitae* also *-ct-* is by far the most frequent form, while the Runic letters *w* and *þ* are altogether unknown in the early Northern texts. Again, with one or two isolated exceptions (e.g. *wigga* Chart. 12, *uwigga* 49 against *uuicggan* 19, *wicga* 47, 48) *-gg-* is unknown to me outside the glossaries; Chart. 1 has *-gc-*, Chart. 17 *-cg-*, *-gcg-*, while all the MSS. of Bede write *-cg-*. The use of (Runic) *w* in Archetype I. is no argument against the assumption of so early a date, as it occurs in Chart. 1. *-ð-* appears first in Chart. 5, and is frequent in Chart. 17, but there does not appear to me to be sufficient evidence that this letter occurred in Archetype I. The absence of *þ* in the early charters is of course inconclusive. On the whole there appears every probability that Archetype I. was compiled between 680—720.

2. Archetype II. seems to have had *-f-* for Germ. *þ*, though only in a very few glosses. Otherwise its dating depends on the date assigned to Epinal.

3. Most of the arguments used above for fixing the date of Archetype I., especially those drawn from the orthography, apply also to the case of Epinal. The use of *-ct-*, *-gg-*, the absence of *-ht-*, the rarity of *-ð-* and of the confusion of Germ. *þ* and *f*, together with the generally archaic character both of the language and of the orthography, make it probable that the interval between Archetype I.—Archetype II.—Epinal was comparatively short. The latest probable date for Epinal seems to me to be about 730.

4. In determining the date of the English original of Erfurt the following points have to be taken into account: the confusion of Germ. *þ* and *f* was more frequent than in Epinal (cf. p. 148), *-cg-* was substituted for *-gg-*, *-ð-* was probably used more frequently (cf. p. 152 f.), and *-ht-* was substituted, though only rarely, for *-ct-* (*-cht-* being also used as in Epinal); the general character however both of the language and of the orthography is archaic; the comparatively frequent retention of *-eu-* may especially be mentioned (cf. p. 124 n.). There are marked differences of language which



compel us to believe that the scribe spoke a different dialect from that of Epinal, but none of these are proofs of lateness. So far as I can see Erfurt contains nothing which would make it likely that its original was written much after 750.

5. The date of Corpus is very difficult to estimate from the language and orthography of the English forms alone. Many of these, as in the other texts, obviously belong to the seventh century, but the majority have undergone more modernisation than those of either Epinal or Erfurt. The orthography (e.g. the very frequent use of *-ð-* and *-ht-*) does not necessarily point to a period later than 750; but from the language, especially the changes in unaccented syllables, I should be inclined to favour a date nearer the end of the century. This text, like Erfurt, contains marked dialectical divergences from Archetype I., and in order to estimate its date accurately one would require to have texts written in the same dialect. In the absence of these it seems to me that the text might be attributed to the ninth century with just as much probability as to the latter part of the eighth, judging from the English glosses alone †.

### xxii. *The Dialects.*

This question, as has already been shown, is somewhat complicated. Four dialects have to be distinguished in the A glosses: I. the dialect of Archetype I.; II. the dialect of Epinal; III. the dialect of Erfurt; IV. the dialect of Corpus. There is but little evidence (and that of a doubtful character) for dialectic differences within Archetype I. The dialect of Archetype II. again does not seem to have differed from that of Epinal, though the latter seems to have carried the process of assimilation somewhat further. Lastly, there seem to have been dialectical differences in the sources of the C glosses of Corpus.

† Palaeographers say this is impossible and assign the text to the first half of the eighth century. But the arguments enumerated above seem to me conclusive against the assumption of any date before 750. Probably one will be fairly safe in dating the text about 770—800.

I. The following is a short summary of the dialectical characteristics of Archetype I. :—

1. The change  $\alpha^1 > e$  was known, though *-ae-* was usually written (cf. p. 103).

2. The change  $\bar{\alpha}^1 > \bar{e}$  was more complete; the writing *-ae-* was exceptional (cf. p. 117 f.).

3. *a* was preserved before *l* + consonant.

4.  $\alpha^2$  seems to have been preserved (cf. p. 107 f.).

5.  $\bar{\alpha}^2$  was preserved (cf. p. 120).

6.  $\varrho$  was probably expressed by *-a-* (cf. p. 111), which must denote that the labialism was very slight.

7.  $\alpha^5$  was probably expressed by *-ae-* (cf. p. 114).

8. The  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{a}$ - diphthongs seem to have become  $\bar{e}\bar{a}$ ; *-ea-* was written consistently.

9. The change  $\alpha^3$  (*i*-umlaut of  $\alpha\bar{a}$ )  $> e$  was known (cf. p. 122 ff.).

10. The change  $\bar{\alpha}^3$  (*i*-umlaut of  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{a}$ )  $> \bar{e}$  was complete (cf. p. 121).

11. The confusion of the  $\bar{e}o$ - and  $\bar{i}u$ - ( $\bar{i}o$ -) diphthongs was known, though not frequent (cf. p. 126).

12. Palatal umlaut seems to have been regular, though a few forms representing diphthongs were probably preserved from older texts. It is to be observed: i. that  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{i}$  ( $< \bar{e}o$ ,  $\bar{i}u$ ) remained distinct—i.e. that palatal umlaut preceded the confusion of the diphthongs  $\bar{e}o$  and  $\bar{i}u$ ; ii. that the changes  $\alpha^4$  ( $< \alpha\bar{a}$ )  $> e$ , and perhaps  $\bar{\alpha}^4$  ( $< \bar{\alpha}\bar{a}$ )  $> \bar{e}$  seem to have been known, though in both cases *-ae-* was usually written (cf. p. 133).

13. Palatal diphthongisation took place only before back vowels (cf. p. 136).

14. There seems to have been scarcely any trace of labial or back umlaut (cf. p. 136).

It is clear that this dialect can have been neither Northumbrian nor West-Saxon. From Northumbrian it differs in 1, 7, 9, 11, 12 ii; from West-Saxon in 1, 2, 3, 12 and perhaps 7, while the sounds  $\alpha^2$  (before *l* + consonant),  $\alpha^3$  and  $\bar{\alpha}^3$  probably never existed in West-Saxon. Again, we

are prevented by 9, 12 ii. and 14 (probably also 6, 7) from identifying this dialect with that of the Psalter. The change in 1 also was probably later here than in the latter dialect (cf. p. 88 f.). The identification of this dialect with Kentish is on exterior grounds more probable than any of the preceding. With Kentish also it shares the changes in 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, while in regard to 3, 6, 12, 14 it does not differ from the language of the earliest Kentish charters. On the other hand there is an important difference between this dialect and Kentish in regard to 4, 5—a difference which can hardly be attributed to the greater antiquity of Archetype I. (cf. under III. below). Again, in regard to 8 this dialect was decidedly less archaic than early Kentish, while in 7 the only early Kentish example of  $\alpha^5$  has *-e-* (*tenid*, Chart. 4). The identification therefore can not be considered satisfactory. On the other hand there is a most remarkable resemblance between this dialect and that of Chart. 1. Although the latter contains only 28 English words, these give evidence of agreement with Archetype I. in 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, while it does not contain a single form which is at variance with any of the fourteen characteristics enumerated above. A resemblance in so many striking particulars can hardly be accidental. I conclude therefore that the dialect of Archetype I. was East-Saxon.

The same (or a very nearly related) dialect is represented in a somewhat later form by the English words in Bede C. The agreement is especially noticeable in the representation of  $\alpha^5$  by *-ae-* (cf. p. 60). In orthography also the resemblance is noticeable, especially in the use of *-cht-*, *-uu-*, *-w-*, *qu-*; though of course C has more modern characteristics. A still later form of the same dialect is probably shown by the glosses in the same text; the back-umlaut, which appears here (as occasionally also in the text), is clearly of late date, since it is not hindered by an intervening guttural. Among points of detail it may be mentioned that these glosses agree with Archetype I. (as also with the Psalter) in the form *ðorh* against Kent. (Chart. 42), W. Sax. *ðurh*, North. *ðerh*; and again in the form *mið* against Ps., Kent., W.-Sax. *mid*; *mið*



(etc.) however occurs also in a Mercian charter (48) and also in a West-Saxon-Kentish charter (24).

II. The only important dialectical difference, which I have been able to detect between Archetype I. and Epinal, is in regard to palatal umlaut. The dialect of the latter seems to have used diphthongal forms. This makes it probable that its geographical position lay further west, nearer to the West-Saxon border †. In this connection it is perhaps worth noticing that the name *haehferð*, which occurs in (the apparently Mercian) Chart. 49, appears as *heahferð* in Chart. 51, 59 (cf. also *aeðelheah* in Chart. 51) both of which belong to Middlesex.

III. On the dialect of the English original of Erfurt there can not be the slightest doubt. The change  $\bar{æ}^2 > \bar{ē}$ , of which Erfurt offers numerous examples, is a distinctive characteristic of the Kentish dialect. The change  $\bar{æ}^2 > e$  appears already in Chart. 4 (679) *uelhisci*, while the change  $\bar{æ}^2 > \bar{e}$ , though not evidenced in the early charters (examples of  $\bar{æ}^2$  being there extremely rare, cf. p. 94 f.), can scarcely have taken place later than the first half of cent. VIII.; examples certainly occurred in the documents from which the C glosses of Corpus are drawn. Further the change of  $\bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^5 > e$ , the preservation of *a* before *l* + consonant and the frequency of palatal umlaut are all in conformity with the language of the earliest Kentish charters, though (in regard to the two last points) reasons have been given (p. 90 f.) for doubting whether this dialect was in reality pure Kentish.

IV. The dialect of Corpus agreed with that of Archetype I. in many important particulars, viz. in 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12 i. and perhaps 13, while in regard to 9 the true forms of the Corpus dialect are doubtful ‡. On the other hand it certainly differed from Archetype I. in 1, 6, 7, 14, while in regard to 12 ii. there was probably no change of  $\bar{æ}^4 > \bar{ē}$ , *-ae-* being the regular form both for the short and for the long

† Cf. also the occasional use of *-ie-* for *-io-* (p. 125 f.).

‡ The numbers refer to the dialectical characteristics of Archetype I. enumerated on p. 158.

sound (cf. p. 133). It differed from Northumbrian in 11, 12 ii.; from early Kentish in 1, 4, 5; from the dialect of the Psalter in 1, 12 ii. and partly in 14, while it had no resemblance to West Saxon. The texts which resemble this dialect most are certain Mercian charters, especially 47, 49 (cf. *aclaeh*, *haehferð* in the latter). In all probability therefore it was a Midland dialect, perhaps Mercian, though not from the south-western parts of the Mercian area.

Among the sources of the C. glosses were some Kentish texts which knew the change  $\bar{æ}^2 > \bar{e}$  (cf. p. 120). Possibly also some glosses were drawn from West Saxon sources (e.g. *forsliet*, p. 124, *alieset*, p. 121). In these texts palatal umlaut could not have been universal (cf. p. 133 f.).

#### 15. CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLIER DIALECTICAL VARIATIONS.

I. Reasons have been given (p. 23) for believing that in the Northumbrian dialect the relative chronology of the more important sound-changes was as follows: 1. Contraction through the loss of intervocalic  $-\chi-$  was preceded by the change  $\bar{æ}$  (=  $\bar{æ}^1$ ,  $\bar{æ}^3$ ,  $\bar{æ}^4$ )  $>$   $\bar{e}$ . 2. The latter change was preceded by palatal umlaut and by the lengthening of vowels before  $r +$  consonant (cf. p. 5 ff.). It has further been shown (p. 25) that the contraction took place in all probability between 680—710, the change  $\bar{æ} > \bar{e}$  between 650—680, and the operation of palatal umlaut consequently before 650.

II. The relative chronology of the sound-changes in the dialect of the Psalter appears to have been identical, except in one or two details, with that in Northumbrian (cf. p. 25); the absolute chronology therefore can scarcely have differed appreciably. There were however two important points of difference between the two dialects: i. the operation of labial umlaut; ii. the change  $\bar{æ}^1 > e$  (both in the dialect of the Psalter). The former of these certainly preceded palatal umlaut (cf. p. 88), while the latter change must have taken

place before  $\bar{æ}^1$  fell together with  $\bar{æ}^3$  or  $\bar{æ}^4$ , and therefore was at least contemporary with (if not earlier than) the operation of palatal umlaut (cf. p. 88 f.).

III. In the East Saxon dialect also contraction through the loss of intervocalic  $-\chi-$  seems to have been preceded chronologically by the change  $\bar{æ}$  ( $= \bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3$ )  $> \bar{e}$ . This conclusion is drawn from the rareness of  $-ae-$  in the glossaries. On the other hand the operation of palatal umlaut does not seem to have preceded the change  $\bar{æ} > \bar{e}$ ; the change  $\bar{æ}^4 > \bar{e}$ , if indeed it took place at all, can not have been contemporaneous with the change  $\bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3 > \bar{e}$ , the proportion of forms with  $-ae- = \bar{æ}^4$  in the glossaries being too great to admit of such a supposition. Therefore since the proportion of forms with  $-e- = \bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3$  points to this change having taken place in East Saxon at about the same time as in Northumbrian, the operation of palatal umlaut is probably to be assigned to a somewhat later date here than in the latter dialect. Contraction through the loss of intervocalic  $-\chi-$  seems to have been preceded by the change  $\bar{æ}^4 > e$  (cf. p. 133 n.). Therefore since the change  $\bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3 > e$  is also known, though from the comparatively small number of cases with  $-e-$  it appears to be comparatively recent, it is probable that  $\bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3, \bar{æ}^4$  fell together before the change  $\bar{æ} > e$ , and that this change took place after the change  $\bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3 > \bar{e}$ . The relative chronology of these changes may therefore be summarised as follows:—

1.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Change of } \bar{æ} (= \bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3) > \bar{e}. \\ \text{Operation of palatal umlaut.} \end{array} \right.$
2. Change of  $\bar{æ} (= \bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3, \bar{æ}^4) > e$ .
3. Contraction through the loss of intervocalic  $-\chi-$ .

East Saxon has the change  $\bar{æ} > e$  in common with the dialect of the Psalter, though in the latter the change took place earlier and had a less extended range. The lengthening of vowels before  $r +$  consonant seems to have been later in East Saxon. This dialect also in common with early Northumbrian seems to have been free from labial umlaut.

IV. Early Kentish (more strictly perhaps Court-Kentish or Mercian-Kentish) agreed with East Saxon in regard to



the change  $\bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3 > \bar{e}$ , the operation of palatal umlaut and the change  $\æ > e$ , though in the last case the change here embraced  $\æ^2$  as well as  $\æ^1, \æ^3, \æ^4$ ; the change  $\bar{æ}^2 > \bar{e}$  was perhaps somewhat later.

V. The dialect of Corpus—which may provisionally be called Mercian—seems to have agreed with East Saxon (against Northumbrian and the dialect of the Psalter) in the comparatively later operation of palatal umlaut— $\bar{æ}^4$  being here preserved. On the other hand Mercian agrees with Northumbrian (against Kentish, East Saxon and the dialect of the Psalter) in being free from the change  $\æ > e$ . Lastly Mercian agrees with the dialect of the Psalter (against East Saxon and Northumbrian) in the early operation of labial umlaut, though in Mercian this change, at least in the earliest period, seems to have affected only *e, i*. The chronology of the principal changes in the Mercian dialect may be briefly summarised as follows:—

1. Labial umlaut of *e, i*.
2. {Change of  $\bar{æ}$  ( $= \bar{æ}^1, \bar{æ}^3$ )  $> \bar{e}$ .  
}Operation of palatal umlaut.
3. Contraction through the loss of intervocalic  $-\chi-$

These considerations may perhaps give us some clue to the geographical position of the dialect of the Psalter. Its affinities lie on one side with Northumbrian in regard to the date of palatal umlaut and the lengthening before *r* + consonant; on another side with East Saxon in the change of  $\æ > e$ , though there is a difference in date and consequently in the extent to which the change is operative; lastly it agrees with Mercian in the early operation of labial umlaut, though only *e, i* are affected thereby in the latter dialect. With Kentish and West Saxon it appears to have no common features which are not shared by one at least of the other three dialects. The dialect would seem therefore to be either East Midland (Peterborough, Ely, etc.) or East Anglian; the latter appears to me more probable, as the connection with Mercian is not very close. This conclusion however would of course require to be substantiated

by investigations into the later history of this dialect, for which I have not the necessary knowledge.

## 16. CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLIEST ENGLISH SOUND-CHANGES.

For the period anterior to the operation of palatal umlaut (which for Northumbrian may be dated about 620—650, cf. p. 24 f.) we have little evidence of dialectic variation within the group discussed above. Neither the change of  $\text{æ}^1 > e$  in the dialect of the Psalter nor the operation of labial umlaut is likely to have taken place much before this time. West Saxon however must already have shown three important peculiarities: (1) in the effects produced by *i*-umlaut on diphthongs; (2) breaking of Germ. *a* before *l* + consonant; (3) palatal diphthongisation of front vowels. One of these—the breaking of Germ. *a*—may also have been shared by Kentish at this time, if the restoration of *-a-* in the early charters, etc. is to be ascribed to Mercian influence.

The following is a brief summary of the earlier sound-changes, treated chronologically. It is convenient to work backwards, beginning where the ground is safest †. When the order in which two or more changes took place can not be definitely ascertained, these changes will be bracketed.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| { | 1. The loss of final <i>-u</i> after long syllables (and in words of the form $\sim\sim\sim$ ) seems to be approximately contemporaneous with the operation of palatal umlaut in Northumbrian (cf. p. 67). At all events it preceded the reduction of intervocalic $-\chi-$ . |
|   | 2. The syncope of final <i>-a-</i> in the first member of a compound may belong to the same period (or slightly earlier?)   |

† The chronological statements must not be taken too literally. Thus when it is said (e.g.) that the change  $\bar{a} > \bar{æ}$  preceded the monophthongisation of Germ. *ai*, this means only that when the latter change took place the older  $\bar{a}$  was no longer a pure  $\bar{a}$ -sound, identical with the new  $\bar{a}$ , but that the process of fronting had already begun; it does not mean that an  $\bar{æ}$ -sound was then fully developed. Within a short space it is impossible to avoid stating the case somewhat baldly.

3. The syncope of *-i-* after long syllables precedes the loss of final *-u* (1), e.g. *rīcu* (cf. p. 65).
- { 4. The gemination of consonants before Germ. *-j-* precedes 1, 2, 3 (cf. p. 74 ff.).
- { 5. The beginning of *i*-umlaut precedes 3.
- { 6. The West Saxon palatal diphthongisation of front vowels precedes 5, e.g. *cȳse* (< \**čīesi*).
- { 7. The West Saxon (and Kentish) breaking of Germ. *a* before *l* + consonant precedes 5 (perhaps also 4, cf. p. 19 f.)†.
- { 8. The breaking before *r* + consonant precedes 5.
- { 9. The change  $\bar{q}$  (cf. p. 59 f.) >  $\bar{o}$  precedes 5.
- { 10. The palatalisation of guttural consonants before front vowels precedes 6.
- { 11. The change *z* > *r* precedes 8, e.g. W. Sax. *mearg*.
- { 12. The loss of nasals (or nasalism) before *f*, *þ*, *s*,  $\chi$  precedes 9‡.
- { 13. The change  $\check{a}u$  >  $\check{e}u$  precedes 10 (cf. p. 26).
- { 14. The change *zn* > *nn* precedes 11 (cf. pp. 6, 33).
- { 15. The breaking before  $\chi$  precedes 13 (cf. p. 28).
- { 16. The change *a* >  $\bar{a}^1$  precedes 10 and probably also 14.
17. The loss of final *-a* precedes 16.
- { 18. The loss of final *-z*, with lengthening of the vowel in accented syllables, precedes 16 and probably 17, e.g. N. sg. *hwā*.
- { 19. The monophthongisation of Germ. *ai* precedes 17, e.g.  $\bar{a}$  (: Goth. *aiw*).
20. The change  $\bar{a}$  >  $\bar{a}^1$  precedes 10, 18, 19.
21. The change  $\bar{a}$  >  $\bar{q}$  before nasals precedes 20 (e.g. *mōna* : Goth. *mena*) ; to the same period probably belongs the change *a* >  $\bar{q}$  in the same position, though it can only be shown that it precedes 12, 14, 16.

† For the period anterior to 6, 7 we have no trace of dialectical differences.

‡ This change may be considerably earlier.



It is very difficult to assign fixed dates for any of these changes. Pogatscher (P.B.B. xviii. 465 ff.) has proved that the operation of *i*-umlaut took place after the invasion of Britain, but this is probably true of very much earlier changes. The word *-caestir* (W. Sax. *-ceaster*) in place-names shows 10, 16 and was also probably acquired in Britain. The Keltic *caed*-(*ualla* etc., W. Sax. *cead*-) is more doubtful. *Ansehis* (Rav. Anon. v. 31, doubtless for *\*anschis*) may be identical with *oisc* (Bede II. 5); if so, sound substitution (*a* for *o*) has probably taken place, but even then the word will show 5, 9, 12. *Natan*-(*leaga* etc. Chron. 508) seems to show 19; for the word can not be separated from Gael. *nechtan* and reappears (probably in Welsh form) as *naiton* in Bede v. 21. The early relationships of the English and Welsh languages form a problem which requires further investigation; but, so far as the evidence goes, it seems to show that almost all the changes enumerated above took place after the occupation of Britain, and that during the first two centuries of the occupation the process of change must have been very rapid. I am aware that the dating suggested here is much later than what is usually accepted. Yet it seems to be confirmed to some extent by evidence from a different side. The earliest of the changes mentioned above, with one exception, is that of  $\bar{a} > \bar{a}^1$ . Before that is of course to be placed the so-called "West Germanic" change of  $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ . Since the two changes are in opposite directions, a very long period of time must have elapsed between them. Now the earliest names which show  $-\bar{a}- < \text{Germ. } \bar{e}$  belong to the close of the second century (in Bohemia, cf. Kluge, P.G.<sup>2</sup> p. 356), and even here the evidence is not contemporary. But even if this change took place contemporaneously in the North, the reverse change can hardly have begun before the fourth century at the earliest. It is to be observed that the older Latin loanwords consistently show the change  $\bar{a} > \bar{a}^1$ , e.g. *Sĕtern*-(*es dæg*, Lind.), *strĕt*, *nĕp*, *cĕse*, *strĕgl*, *strĕl* (W. Sax. *Sĕtern*-, *strĕt*, *nĕp*, *cĕse*, *strĕgl*);  $-\bar{a}-$  is never preserved except before *w* (e.g. Ep. *pauua*). But if the later  $\bar{a}$  ( $< ai$ ) had come into existence any considerable time before

the English left their earlier home, we should have expected to find Latin  $\bar{a}$  preserved in some cases at least. Again, according to the chronology suggested above, the loss of final  $-a$  will have taken place very early in the sixth century. In this respect English seems to agree both with Scandinavian and Frankish. The latest Urnordisch inscriptions which preserve  $-a$ ,  $-aR$  can hardly belong to an earlier date than this, though Wimmer has probably gone too far in assigning them to the seventh century. So also the Malberg glosses in the Lex Salica (*chunna*, *focla* etc.) can not be earlier than the last decade of the fifth century.

#### 17. THE POSITION OF ENGLISH AMONG THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

It has been shown above (p. 164) that at the beginning of the seventh century there were practically but two English dialects in existence, the one being West Saxon, the other being common to all the districts north of the Thames. Kentish seems to have occupied an intermediate position, being probably somewhat nearer to the latter. It has further been shown (p. 165 n.), that the differences between West Saxon and the Northern group do not go very far back, probably not before the middle of the sixth century. For the first half of this century we have no evidence of dialectical differences. It remains now to be seen what features the English language had during this early period in common with the sister languages on the continent and what features were specifically and exclusively English.

It is remarkable that among the early changes enumerated on p. 165, setting aside the dialectical peculiarities of West Saxon, all except 8 (the breaking before  $r$  + consonant) and 13 (the change  $\check{a}u > \check{e}u$ ) occur also in Frisian. On the other hand the only distinctive feature of Frisian, as opposed to English, in the earliest times seems to have been a change of  $\bar{a}$  ( $< ai$ )  $> \bar{e}$ , somewhat parallel to that of  $a > \bar{e}^1$ . Since there is no reason for believing that the relative chronology in English and Frisian differed, it follows that at the be-

ginning of the sixth century there can have been no difference at all between the two languages.

It has frequently been held that English and Frisian are, altogether with Old Saxon, Frankish and the dialects of Upper Germany, descended from a once undivided "Urwestgermanisch" language, which formed (beside Urnordisch and Urostgermanisch) one of three offshoots of the original Germanic ("Urgermanisch") language. Now, since the earliest of the changes enumerated above, namely the change  $\check{a} > \check{q}$  before nasals and the change  $\bar{a} > \bar{a}^1$ , are peculiar to Anglo-Frisian, it is clear that this undivided West Germanic language must have ceased to exist before the end of the fifth century at the latest. What then were the distinctive characteristics of this language? The following changes are common to Old Saxon, Frankish, Upper German and Anglo-Frisian but wanting in Scandinavian:—

- i. The lengthening of consonants before *j*.
- ii. The change of medial and final  $\delta > d$ .
- iii. The change of  $z > r$  before *d*.
- iv. The loss of final *-z*. (In High German however  $r < z$  is preserved in short monosyllabic words).
- v. The change  $-a^x w w a^{-x} > -a^x u w a^{-x}$  (cf. p. 37 f.)†.

Perhaps also the absence of syncope in the G. sg. *-es*, O.H.G. *-es*, *-as* and the problematic gemination in *teohhian* etc. are to be added. The gemination of consonants before *r*, *l* can not really be compared (cf. p. 69 ff.).

Of these changes i. can certainly not belong to the period when the language was still undivided. From O.H.G. *chunni* etc. it appears that in this dialect gemination took place after the syncope of *-i*. Though this was not the case in English, it was nevertheless comparatively late (cf. p. 76 f.). With

† The treatment of the parallel group  $a^x j j a^x$  in English is obscure: *æg*: O.H.G. *ei*, O.N. *egg*; *hnēgan*: O.N. *gneggja*; *wāg*, *wāh* (or *wäg*?): O.N. *veggr*, O. Sax. *wei*; G. pl. *twoega*, *twegea*, *boega*, *begea*: O.N. *tueggia*, *beggia*, O.H.G. *zweijo*?; *frīge-dæg*: O.H.G. *frija*, O.N. *frigg*; *ēode*: Goth. *iddja*, M.H.G. *g-ie*. To conclude from this scanty material that the regular development in English was  $-a^x j j a^x > -a^x i j a^x$  seems to me over-hasty.



regard to iii. it is probable that Germ. *z* in general was preserved until after the change  $a > \bar{a}^1$  had taken place (cf. *ærn* etc.). In iv. the loss of *-z* probably preceded the loss of final *-a*, but there is no reason to suppose that *-z* was lost earlier in unaccented than in accented syllables. Now in accented syllables the loss of *-z* (with lengthening of the vowel) took place after the change  $\bar{a} > \bar{a}^1$ , as appears from *hwā* beside *swē*, *swā*†. In v. the change  $-a^x w w a^x > -a^x u w a^x$  seems to have taken place at a comparatively late period in Old Saxon, as appears from such forms as *glau*. In English also it is probable from such forms as *sēa* that the diphthongisation did not precede the loss of final *-a*. On the other hand the date of the change  $\delta > d$  seems impossible to determine‡. There is therefore but one sound-change—and that of altogether doubtful age—which can be assigned to the “Urwestgermanisch” period. The change  $z > r$  (before vowels and *;*) is shared also by Scandinavian; so also are the early changes  $i > e$ ,  $u > o$  before low vowels||,  $e > i$  before *i, j*, and the reduction of final  $-\bar{o} > -u$ . The change  $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$  can least of all be ascribed to the “Urwestgermanisch” period, for in Frankish the change appears to have been still incomplete in the sixth century; but by this time  $\bar{a}$  had long ceased to exist in Anglo-Frisian. In the date of this change Anglo-Frisian seems rather to agree with Scandinavian.

The points of agreement between Anglo-Frisian and the other “West Germanic” languages must be ascribed rather to geographical proximity than to identity of origin. This is shown by two important facts: (1) Anglo-Frisian shares with Old Saxon certain features which are wanting in High

† *swa* is descended from the originally unaccented byform *swǎ*.

‡ Is it quite certain that the English 3 sg. *-iþ*, 3 pl. *-aþ* and the rare 2 pl. *-æþ* (e.g. *ȝibidæþ*, *gebiddæd*) are due to the influence of Indo-Germanic  $\acute{e} : \acute{o}$ -verbs? It appears to me quite possible that final  $-\delta$  in unaccented syllables might have become voiceless in Anglo-Frisian (as also perhaps in Scandinavian, e.g. Stent. *bariutib*, and possibly in Old Saxon). In that case the change  $\delta > d$  can not be assigned to the undivided period.

|| From \**Pex̄tas* (North. *pect-*) it seems probable that the change  $i > e$  was in operation as late as the fourth century. Or did Anglo-Frisian share with Scandinavian a later change  $i > e$  before  $\chi$ ?

German, e.g. the loss of *-z* in short monosyllables, the loss of *n* before *p, f* (incomplete in Old Saxon) and possibly to some slight extent the date of gemination before *j* †; while in regard to the treatment of *þ* and of explosives the position of High German is quite peculiar. On the other hand features common to High German and Anglo-Frisian but absent from Old Saxon are entirely wanting. (2) Anglo-Frisian shares with Scandinavian several important changes which are unknown in the West Germanic languages, e.g. the early operation of *i*-umlaut, the operation of labial and back umlaut in English, the loss of nasals before *-s* and the early reduction of  $\chi$  ‡; similar points of agreement are still more frequent in the morphology, but these need not be discussed here. Now though these common features of Anglo-Frisian and Scandinavian are of course worthless for providing identity of origin, they are yet scarcely less significant than the "West Germanic" characteristics as evidence for geographical proximity. It is true that (e.g.) the operation of *i*-umlaut in Scandinavian differs in several respects from the parallel phenomenon in Anglo-Frisian, and the difference between English and Scandinavian is perhaps still more marked in the case of labial and back umlaut; but neither of these differences is greater than the difference between Anglo-Frisian and West Germanic in regard to the gemination of consonants before *j* (cf. p. 75 *n.*). In the latter point indeed Anglo-Frisian seems to occupy a position midway between West Germanic and Scandinavian; it shares the gemination with the former, but in regard to the subsequent treatment of *j* it agrees rather with Scandinavian. Lastly it may be mentioned that, so far as the chronology can be traced, Scandinavian itself seems to have undergone no distinctive changes earlier than the earliest changes of Anglo-Frisian. The earliest distinctive Scandinavian changes are the changes  $\ddot{i} > \check{e}$ ,  $\ddot{u} > \check{o}$  before  $\chi$  and the changes  $-a^xwva^x- > -a^xgwa^x-$ ,

† Such forms as N. A. sg. *net* wear quite an Anglo-Frisian aspect; so also with  $\bar{o}\delta ar$  etc.

‡ The reduction of  $\chi$  and the *i*-umlaut of *a* in West Germanic belong to a much later period.

$-a^xjja^x-$  >  $-a^xggja^x-$ . According to Noreen (Altisl. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, § 246), these last changes do not belong to the Urnordisch period; the change  $\ddot{u} > \ddot{o}$  before  $\chi$  also is not complete in the Urnordisch inscriptions (e.g. *muha*, Kragehul). It is probable therefore that none of the existing distinctions † between Scandinavian, Anglo-Frisian and West Germanic go back to a period much earlier than the beginning of the fifth century ‡.

The sound-changes of which we find evidence in the earliest English texts may therefore be divided into five series:—

1. Changes peculiar to English.
2. Changes common to English and Frisian.
3. Changes common to Anglo-Frisian and West Germanic.
4. Changes common to Anglo-Frisian (or English alone) and Scandinavian.
5. Changes common to Scandinavian, Anglo-Frisian and West Germanic.

In 2, the changes date in part from a period when English and Frisian were still undivided; in part they have developed later. None of the changes in 3, as I have tried to show, date from a period when these languages were still undivided. They are rather to be ascribed to geographical proximity; so also with the changes in 4. On the other hand several of the changes in 5 go back in all probability to a period when the three linguistic groups still formed one homogeneous whole (cf. p. 169).

† Except probably in regard to the treatment of Germ.  $\bar{e}$ , where however the line of division lay within the West Germanic branch (cf. p. 169).

‡ Hence some of the so-called Urnordisch inscriptions, e.g. those of Thorsbjaerg and Gallehus, may really be Anglo-Frisian, if they belong to the fourth century. They certainly contain no specifically Scandinavian characteristics; the preservation of (the originally accented form) *ek* in Gallehus is nothing remarkable when the age of the inscription is taken into account. It must however be left to historical or archaeological investigation to determine whether the population of Slesvig was Scandinavian at this period.

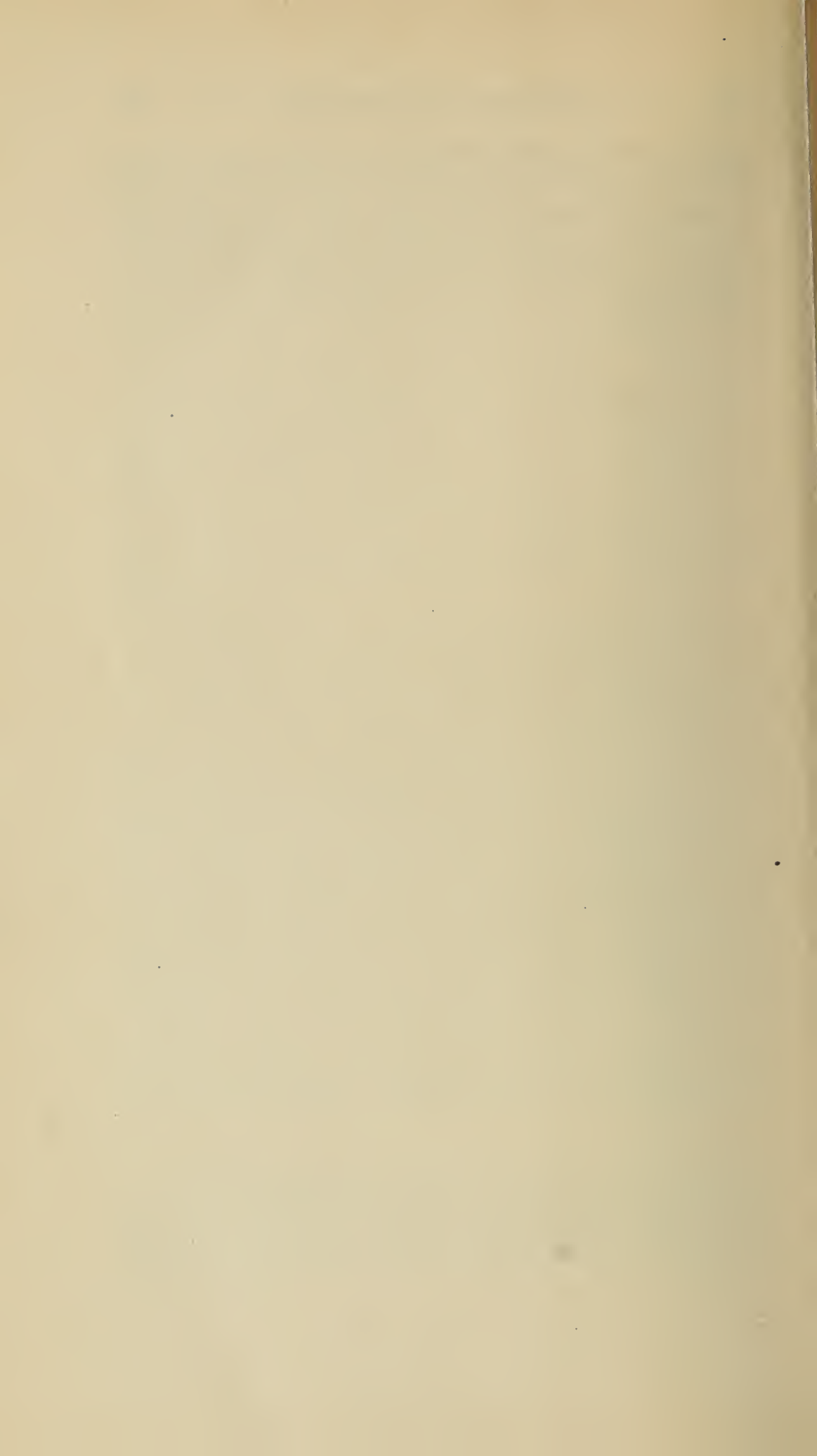


By the Scandinavian-Anglo-Frisian-West-Germanic period, during which the earlier changes in  $\bar{5}$  took place, I do not mean the period which is usually known as "Gemeingermanisch." The East Germanic languages (assuming that Gothic represents in general the normal type of these languages) must have differed from the Northern-Western group in many important characteristics long before the beginning of the fifth century. Among the earliest points of difference may be mentioned the treatment of final syllables, the change  $e > i$ , the preservation (at least in Gothic) of  $\bar{e}$  and the absence of the change  $u > o$  before low vowels †. Those scholars who unite Gothic and Scandinavian in a Northern-Eastern group seem to me to have overlooked amongst other things the essentially different chronology of the sound-changes in the two linguistic groups.

In saying that none of the existing distinctions between Scandinavian, Anglo-Frisian and West Germanic go back to a period much before the beginning of the fifth century I do not mean that before that time dialectical differences were entirely wanting. Considering the size of the area over which these languages are (and were even at that time) distributed, this would be improbable. I mean rather that the divisions and dialects, which existed before that time, were probably different from those which appear later. The political events of the fourth and fifth centuries involved a general dislocation of the Germanic world; new groups were formed and old differences would naturally often be obliterated. An indication of former dialectical differences is perhaps to be seen in the treatment of Germ.  $\bar{e}$ . But it is scarcely possible to determine the divisions of that time by philological methods. Tacitus' division of the Germans into

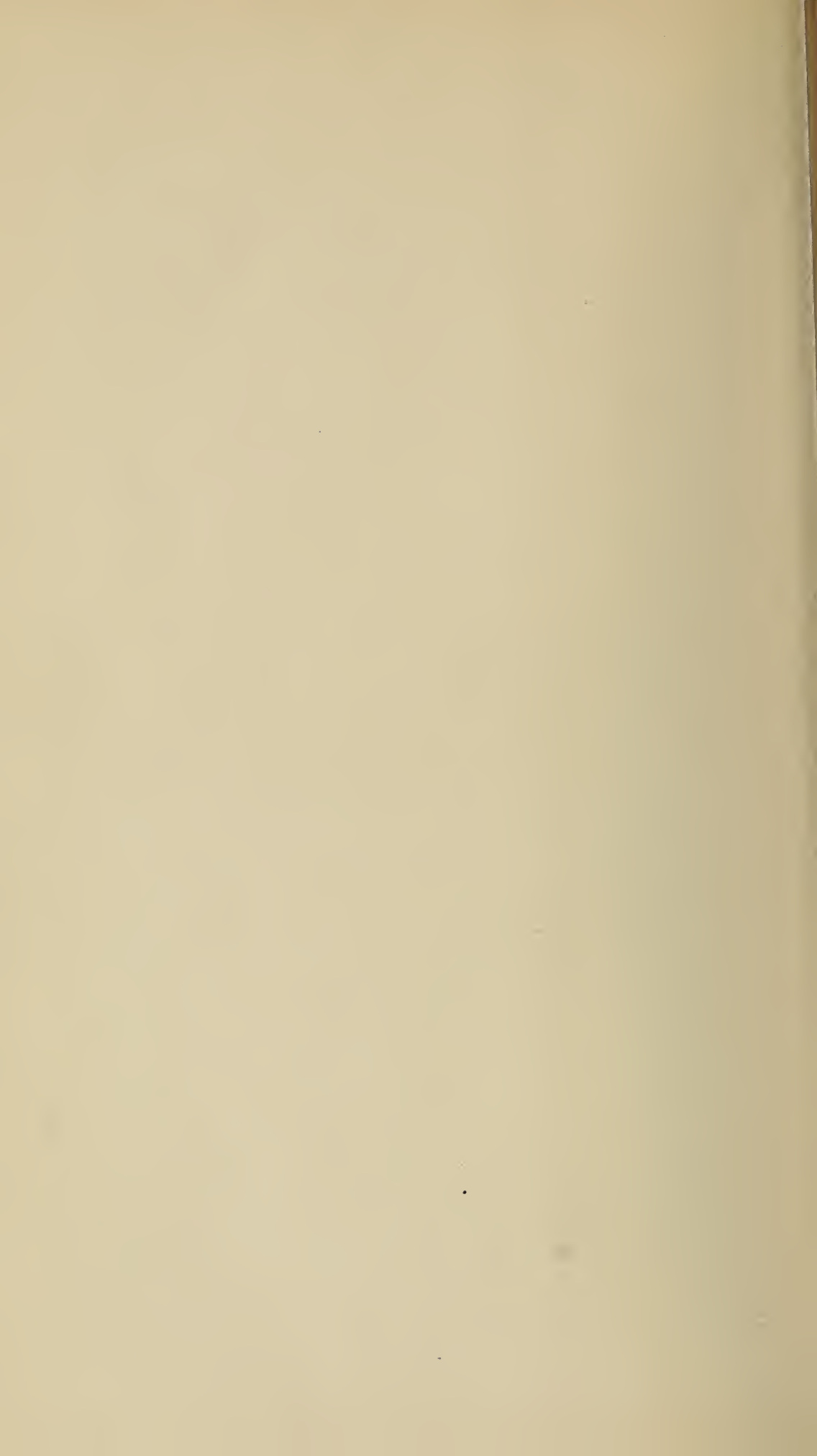
† This last point is often disputed on the ground of *Gotones* (Tacitus), *Gotar*, *Gotan*, but these forms may show a Northern-Western sound-change; Pliny writes *Gutones*. At a later period Goth.  $u$  seems to have developed into an  $o$ -sound (whence later in unaccented syllables  $a$ ) independently of its environment.

Ingaeuones, Istaeuones and Herminones—a division in which the East Germans are probably not included (cf. Pliny, N.H. IV. 28)—may accurately reflect the racial and consequently perhaps also the linguistic divisions of that period, but the further investigation of this question must be left to archaeologists.















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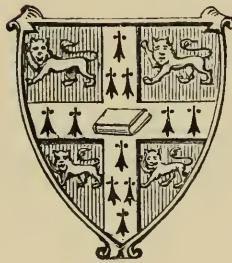
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\* \* \* Owing to the nature of the papers contained in this volume, no general Index is needed. A select Index to Part I. will be found at p. 83.

### CORRIGENDA TO PART I.

p. 23, l. 5, *for* 'the source had tenere' *read* 'the source had tedere<sup>ne</sup>'  
 p. 24, cancel the words from 'At III xiv 19' to the end of the paragraph.

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